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Selected Aspects of Marriage, Family, and Related Institutions

Part I

Diverse Definitions and Structures

Part II

Behavior and Expectation of 92 College Women

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of a Senior Honors Project

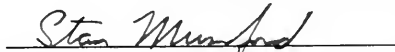
by: Karen Ingrid Malmquist

April 1990



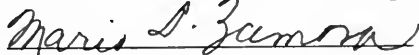
Primary Reader: Professor Catherine Seaman

Sweet Briar College



Secondary Reader: Professor Stan Mumford

Sweet Briar College



External Reader: Professor Mario D'Zamora

The College of William and Mary

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Preface

The challenges of an Honors Project can not be simplified into a paragraph, or even into the thesis paper itself. In addition to the knowledge I gained, I have learned valuable organizational and time management skills while trying to complete a demanding thesis, keep up with the rigors of on—going classes, and attend job interviews. The review of the literature could have been an extensive project in itself, but I also wanted to conduct a survey using the skills I had learned as an Anthropology and Sociology major in my research methods class. Thus, I focused on my survey, and used the literature as a guide and as a source for comparison, thereby satisfying both desires in one project.

I want to thank those of you who have given up your time to help me in this endeavor, especially Mr. Mumford, my secondary reader, and the women who answered my questionnaire. Special thanks go to Mrs. Seaman for all the knowledge she shared with me; and for all of the support and encouragement she has given me over the years.

Introduction

Marriage and the family, two of the oldest institutions in society, have always interested me. I chose to study this subject because I wanted to identify the types of marriages and families found in various cultures, and to examine changing expectations of marriage and the family, in our own society. Specifically, I wanted to know whether college women of my age group, several of whom are oriented toward careers, were changing their view of marriage, and whether their expectations were new or similar to those found elsewhere in society.

Immediately after I started my study I became aware that there are no concrete definitions of marriage and family written by anthropologists or sociologists that can be applied to all societies; and that every society has different marital and familial structures. I also discovered the important role work has in shaping the institutions of marriage and the family.

Therefore, Part I of this paper is a review of the various definitions concerned with marriage, family, and work. In addition, it examines some of the various marital and familial structures found in selected societies. It includes the most recent definitions from anthropologists and sociologists, as well as those definitions which are institutions themselves in these fields. In Part II, I report on the research project I conducted to examine the plans women at a small, liberal arts college in Virginia have for marriage, families, and careers.

PART I

Anthropologists have yet to find a society without the institutions of marriage and work, and in addition most cultures have a family structure of some sort. Biologically, marriage is the principle distributor of genes within a population, the family is the primary agent of survival and enculturation of the children, and work is a major source of subsistence. However, the definition of marriage and the family varies not only between cultures, but from one anthropologist to another. On the surface, work and subsistence appear to be easier to define than marriage and the family until one considers the diversity of roles and the division of labor in many societies.

The purpose of this limited survey of the literature is to establish a qualitative baseline from which to describe, and compare, some of the expectations of marriage, family, and work reported by a cohort of young women in the United States. It was not clear at the beginning of the study whether there was, in fact, a basis for comparing the findings of a limited Western sample with other cultures. I wondered whether cultural diversity was so extensive that no similarities, other than the existence of the institutions could be found. However, I looked for common elements in, and criticism of, the various definitions and structures of marriage, family, and work to find those which would be useful in the study of a Western group.

Anthropologists and sociologists who have attempted to define marriage and the family include: Westermarck, Malinowski, Gough, Sumner, Leavitt, Cohen, Stephens, Meade, Harris, and Sussman.

MARRIAGE



Westermarck (1930:1—3) stressed the permanence of the marital union, defining marriage as “a more or less durable connection between male and female.” He believes marriage in some form existed among our earliest human ancestors. Malinowski (1956) selects the legitimacy of sexual intercourse as the defining characteristic of marriage. In his view, marriage is a sexual union regulated by custom or law, an institution that gives the “right to sexual intercourse”, however, the right “is not necessarily exclusive”.

Gough (1971:760—770) concentrating on the legitimacy of children, defined marriage as “a relationship established between a woman and one or more persons, which provides that a child born to the woman under circumstances not prohibited by the rules of the relationship, is accorded full birth—status rights common to normal members of his (or her) society or social stratum”. This broad definition of marriage attempts to include rare examples, such as the Nayar, a warrior caste in India; and the patrilineal, cattle—keeping Nuer of Africa.

In contrast with our society Nayar girls must marry before they have reached puberty. The elaborate four—day public ceremony includes a ritual bridegroom who leaves soon after the wedding. This ritual bridegroom has neither rights to, nor duties towards, his “wife” or any children she may subsequently have. The newly married girl lives with her sisters and brothers, and after puberty can receive visiting lovers of the proper caste.

The earlier ceremonial marriage established legitimacy for all children born to this woman. Like the bridegroom, the visiting lover



has no rights to the woman or her children. His only duty is to come forward at the birth of a child to pay the midwife, and thus by this act, establish that the woman received a man of the proper caste.

The Nuer case differs in that one type of marriage may take place between two women, an old widow, and a young woman who then takes a lover to produce a child for the widow's deceased husband's lineage. Like the Nayar, the marriage of women to one another is associated with the legitimate status of children.

Sumner (1906:67) defines marriage as a status controlled by mores and expressed by law, which, following the mores, defines and gives sanctions to marriage. Marriage in this view includes the legitimation of a sexual union, made socially acceptable by marriage. In Sumner's view, "no man and woman can by contract make wedlock different for themselves from the status defined by law, so far as social rights and duties are concerned. The same conception of marriage as a status in the mores is injured by the intervention of the ecclesiastical and civil formalities connected with it." (ibid) Sumner believes that it is almost impossible to find a society that does not have marriage. In addition he notes that marriage in all its forms is rooted in the mores of the time and place, and that marriage as an institution will change, taking on new forms, as society on the whole changes. (ibid:346)

Leavitt (1989:116) expressed agreement, finding in a cross cultural sample of 121 societies that changes in one part of society bring about changes in other parts of society. Similarly, Cohen (1978:116) suggests a relationship between the economic system



(trade) and the incest taboo, predicting that the extension of the incest taboo to many statuses will decrease as trade becomes technically and socially advanced, thereby eliminating the need for extended incest taboos to tie societies and trade together, by forcing men to look for mates in a wider area.

Stephens (1963) develops a formal definition of marriage with four characteristics: a socially legitimate sexual union; begun by public announcement; undertaken with some idea of permanence; and assumed with a more or less explicit marriage contract which spells out reciprocal rights and obligation between spouses, and between spouses and future children. To the concept of legitimacy he adds: the idea of a public announcement; expectations of permanence; and a marriage contract.

Mead (1974:163) sees marriage differently, separating into into two types: individual and parental. Individual marriage is the first type according to Mead. It “binds together two individuals only” and would “not include children”. The second type of marriage according to Mead is “parental” marriage which is “explicitly devoted toward the founding of a family.”

Harris (1983:146) defines marriage in terms of co—resident domestic units, including “the behavior, sentiments, and rules concerned with coresident, heterosexual mating and reproduction in domestic contexts.” Similarly, Sussman (1974:67) defines marriage in terms of coresidence and sexual access, but includes the division of labor and the differentiation between right of coitus and rights to children which are “sometimes bestowed on individuals”. Sussman also includes the emotional bond or commitment as a defining



characteristic of marriage.

In summary, the definitions above include a number of characteristics such as legitimacy (legitimate sexual unions which produce legitimate offspring) bestowed by mores, customs, or laws which control who can mate with whom; contracts which spell out rights and obligations between mates, spouses, and children; residence rules about who can live where and with whom; expectations of permanency; and economic characteristics including the division of labor, trade, and support of spouse and/or children.

FAMILY

One of the most often quoted, and criticized, definitions of the family is Murdock's (1949:1—3). Murdock defines the family "as social group characterized by common residence, economic cooperation, and reproduction. It includes adults of both sexes, at least two of whom maintain a socially approved sexual relationship, and one or more children, own or adopted, of the sexually cohabiting adults." (ibid) He utilizes four characteristics: common residence; economic cooperation; reproduction; and a sexual relationship that is socially approved between two or more adults. Murdock continues to say that "the family is to be distinguished from marriage which is a complex of customs centering upon the relationship between a sexually associating pair of adults within the family. Marriage defines the manner of establishing and terminating such a relationship, the normative behavior and reciprocal obligations within it, and the locally accepted restrictions upon its personnel." (ibid)



He acknowledges that used alone, the term “family” is ambiguous. The layman and even the social scientist often apply it indiscriminately to several social groups which, despite functional similarities, exhibit important points of difference. These differences must be laid bare, he notes, by analysis before the term can be used in rigorous scientific discourse. (*ibid*)

Murdock’s definition, while providing a useful base, cannot be applied universally to define “family”. For example Spiro (1970:110—167) in his study of the Kibbutz in Israel, found that men and women live together but don’t marry until they need to make expected children legitimate under laws of Israel. Although they make a public announcement of sorts when they apply for a common room to share, their economic obligation is to the Kibbutz rather than to the spouse or children. The Nayars, above, also do not seem to have a family, substituting the function of lineage.

Levy and Fallers (1959:650), criticizing various attempts to define the family, suggest it should not be used to refer to a single social unit in each society, but rather to any small, kinship-structured unit that carries out aspects of the relevant functions. They note that the most significant attributes of the “family” are social functions, notably, the socialization of the young. (*ibid*:647).

Gray (1964:4) looking for a definition that veers away from the idea of a single institution or a static structure, suggests that the family should be viewed as “an ephemeral, non-structural group”, that is located in the domestic domain of society, and comprises a system of integrating relationships that are almost universal, although variable in



composition. He notes that the family at first glance appears to be a fundamental unit of society, rooted in the biology of human reproduction, but that a universally applicable definition is difficult to formulate. (ibid) For example, he criticizes Murdock's (1949) definition of the nuclear family as a universal form of human grouping, noting that the lineage, rather than the family may be the basic unit. (ibid:2) However, Murdock does note that the "family" must be analysed into its constituent relationships, and these must be examined individually and collectively for one to gain an adequate conception of the family's many-sided utility and its inevitability. (ibid)

In summary, the social institution termed "family", like marriage, is not easily defined by one statement. While there can be many common characteristics within this cultural unit, each "family" can possess a variety of characteristics which in turn make it unlike any other unit, either on the individual or cultural level.

WORK

Durkheim (1893) suggested that the division of labor tended to fall into two categories. In one category labor was divided on the basis of sex and age, and moral consensus held society together. In the other category the division of labor was rooted in the specialization of tasks rather than in the age and sex of the worker. This society was held together by "organic solidarity", each specialized segment of labor depending upon the other for existence. A division of labor by sex and age appears to have established the traditional roles of men

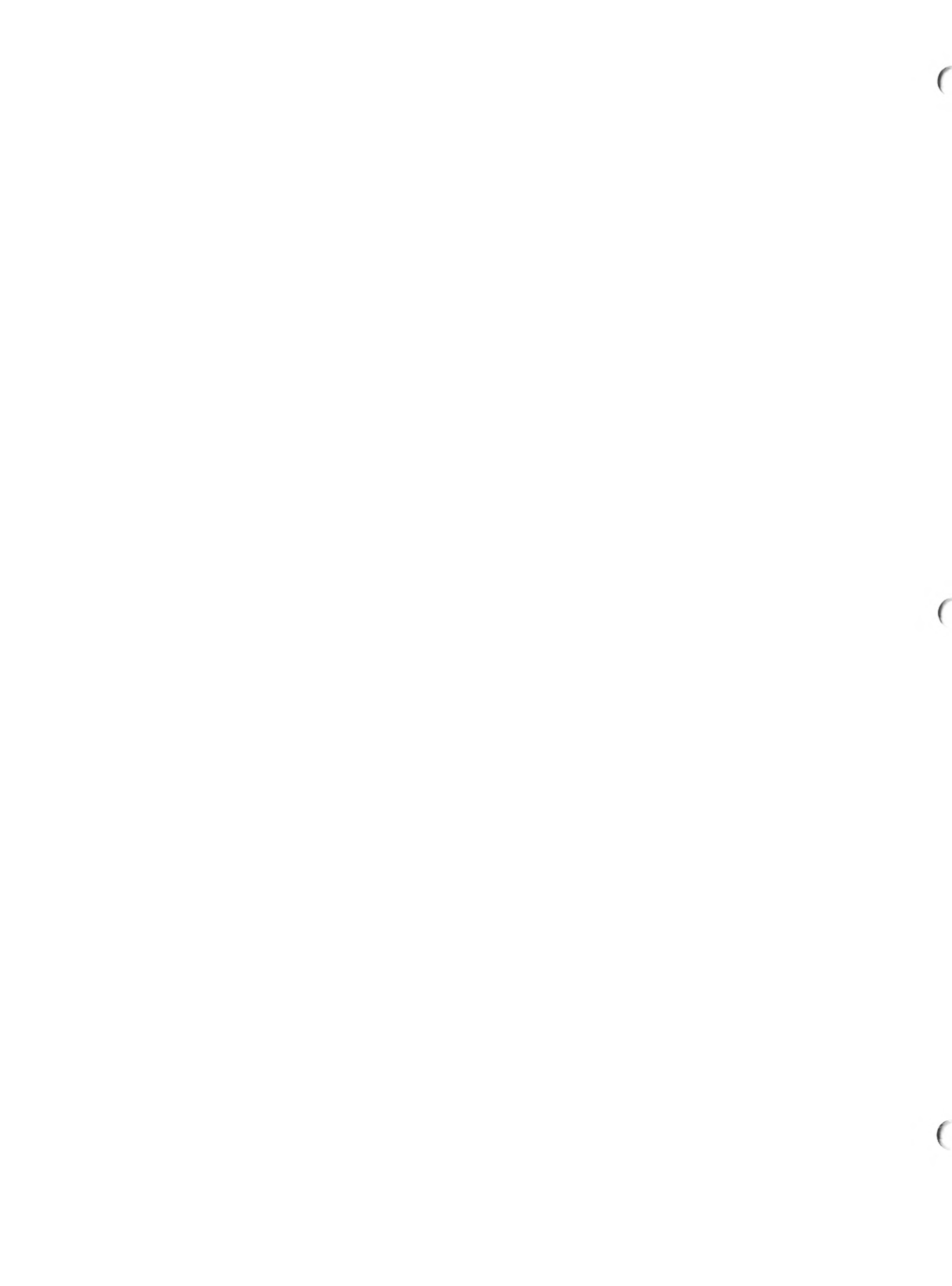


and women at work in the non—Western societies, while specialized tasks tend to dominate the division of labor in Western societies.

Cross—cultural regularities do appear in the assignments of tasks. Men nearly always are the metal workers; weapon makers; hunters; fishermen; herders; and trappers. Men build the boats and houses; manufacture the musical instruments; and manufacture the ceremonial objects. In contrast, women tend to be the gatherers. They grind the grain; carry water; cook meals; make and repair clothing; preserve meat and fish; gather fuel; do the housekeeping; and care for the young children. (Stephens; 1963: 288)

At times, men may help women, however a reversal of this is rare. The more important, honorific tasks seem to fall to men, and women may at times be excluded from public life and gatherings. Such exclusions of women from important jobs and formal leadership, and from public places and social gatherings seem to be an aspect of widespread social inequality between men and women. (*ibid*)

Friedl (1975) agrees. She suggests that the subsistence technology of a society together with its social and political organization have consequences for the sexual division of labor, and the differential allocation of power and recognition by sex. The work of women in the domestic sphere influences the number of children they have, and child—rearing this entails. Thus, Friedl suggests that the economic tasks of women take precedence over reproduction and child—rearing, which are then accommodated to requirements of women's work. (*ibid*) In addition, it is her hypothesis that power and prestige are associated with the ability of women to distribute and exchange valued goods and services in the public sphere



(extradomestic distribution). Women who work in public, who are able to distribute and exchange goods in the public market rather than in the domestic unit alone, will find that this gives power and prestige. In addition, women who are able to use labor and materials for “extraordinary occasions” are able to acquire power, as well as establish and maintain self—esteem. (ibid)

Men as hunters had the opportunity for large extradomestic and public exchanges of meat, a source of power usually not available to women who worked as gatherers. In horticultural societies, men tended to control land and thus had greater control than women over extradomestic (public) distribution and the exchange of valued goods and services. Thus the economic value of women as gatherers, caretakers of children, and homemakers led to exchange in the private, domestic unit which conferred less power, privilege, and prestige than the exchanges which occurred in the public sphere dominated by men.

In summary, as women’s work moved to the extradomestic arena, they acquired more power and prestige, and as a result limited the number of children and child—rearing responsibilities in light of their work.

MARITAL AND FAMILIAL STRUCTURES AND ECONOMIES

There are several types of marital structures found in both Western and non-Western societies including: monogamy; polygamy (polyandry and polygny); one—parent structure; and reconstituted structures. Monogamy, the marriage of one man to one woman, is the



most common, due either to the laws of society or the inability to obtain or provide economically for multiple marriage partners and their children. The rarest marital structure is polyandry, the marriage of one woman to more than one husband according to Levine (A.A.;1989:809). Polyandry arose or was initially interrelated to the economic institution, and persisted due to the strength of custom and habit. (ibid)

Polyandry, which is practiced by the Nyinba of north—Western Nepal was studied by Levine in 1988. At the time of her research all men who had brothers remained in fraternal polyandrous marriages throughout their lives. Polyandry functions to limit tribal growth; “extra” women are killed at birth according to Levine. The advantages of polyandry are economic. It allows them to maintain a high standard of living in a very poor country, and it helps prevent the dispersion of property states Levine. Polyandry also prevents land holdings from being split according to Levine’s study, also men in Nyinba do not prefer monogamy even if economic standards improved. (ibid)

The most commonly preferred marital structure is polygyny, the marriage of one man to several wives. However, as noted above, men cannot always afford to obtain or support several wives, and must be resigned to monogamy, while preferring polygyny. White and Burton (1988:871—888) write that preference for polygyny is based on three facts: the interest of fraternal groups; warfare for the capture of women; and the absence of migration taboos. The polygynous Kipsigis of Kenya have various household arrangements including the mother-child farm-homestead arrangement which increases the man’s ability



to preside over several farm-homesteads.

Marital structures are also based on rules of endogamy and exogamy. Endogamy is the custom or law that requires or encourages a person to marry within the particular social group to which he or she belongs. Exogamy is the socially enforced requirement that a person marry outside the culturally defined group, always the elementary family, to which he or she belongs. In addition, the choice of spouse is influenced by the rule of homogamy, the marriage of spouses with social and cultural similarity.

Lindley (1966:96) writes that in most traditional societies, marriage structures include more than a union of two individuals or even of their immediate families. It involves relationships between whole groups of people, so that any marriage structure has a wider social significance, and marriage alliances are of great importance to the economic and social survival of the group. (ibid)

In Murdock's World Ethnographic Sample of 125 societies, about one fourth of the sample, are characterized by mother—child household structures. The father lives in another house a good part of the time (Stephens; 1963:15). This is becoming common in our society as the number of female-headed household are rising.

In addition to one—parent residential families, three distinct types of family structures have been identified in 250 representative human societies, the nuclear family, the horizontally extended family, and the lineally extended family. (Murdock; 1949:1—3) The first and most basic, called the nuclear family, consists typically of a married man and woman with their offspring, although in individual cases one



or more additional persons may reside with them. The nuclear family is one type of family recognized in our own society, which may also include the single parent family and the family reconstructed by divorce and remarriages. Nuclear families are often combined into larger aggregates. For example, a polygamous family structure consists of two or more nuclear families joined horizontally by plural marriages, with one married parent in common.(ibid)

One man plays the role of husband and father in several nuclear families and unites them into a larger familial structure. Murdock (ibid) calls this an extended family. It consists of two or more nuclear families “affiliated through an extension of the parent-child relationship rather than of the husband-wife relationship.” (ibid) For example, a patrilocal extended family typically includes an older man, his wife or wives, his unmarried children, his married sons, and their wives and children. Thus “families” include three generations of nuclear families of father and sons who live in a single dwelling or in a cluster of adjacent dwellings. In Murdock’s view the nuclear family is a universal social grouping, either as the sole prevailing structure or as the basic unit from which more complex forms arise.

Murdock’s view of the universal family structure is supported by Linton (1936) who writes that the nuclear family does play a significant role in the lives of many societies. “In no case,” he writes, “have we found a reliable ethnographer who denies either the existence, or the importance, of this elemental social group.” (ibid)

However, Murdock’s and Linton’s views have been challenged on several points. First, his “reciprocal economic obligations” implies that the family is a separate economic unit with all the family members



working together as an economic unit. In many societies the lineage splits the nuclear family, the husband maintaining an economic interest with his lineage, wife with hers. In addition, ownership of property may be split, with the wife working her own fields, raising her own crops and remaining is economically self-sufficient. (Stephens;1963:14) In fact, wives do subsistence work in most societies and maybe partially or wholly self-supporting. (ibid:15)

In our own society, tasks were split in the past by sex with husband as the bread winner and the wife as the homemaker. Even today, when both spouses work in extradomestic jobs, the only economic cooperation may be in consumption rather than production.

Having reviewed the selected theories, concepts, and structures which broadly pertain to marriage and related institutions, I now turn to examine what a small group of contemporary college women report to be their expectations of marriage, family, and work in the future.

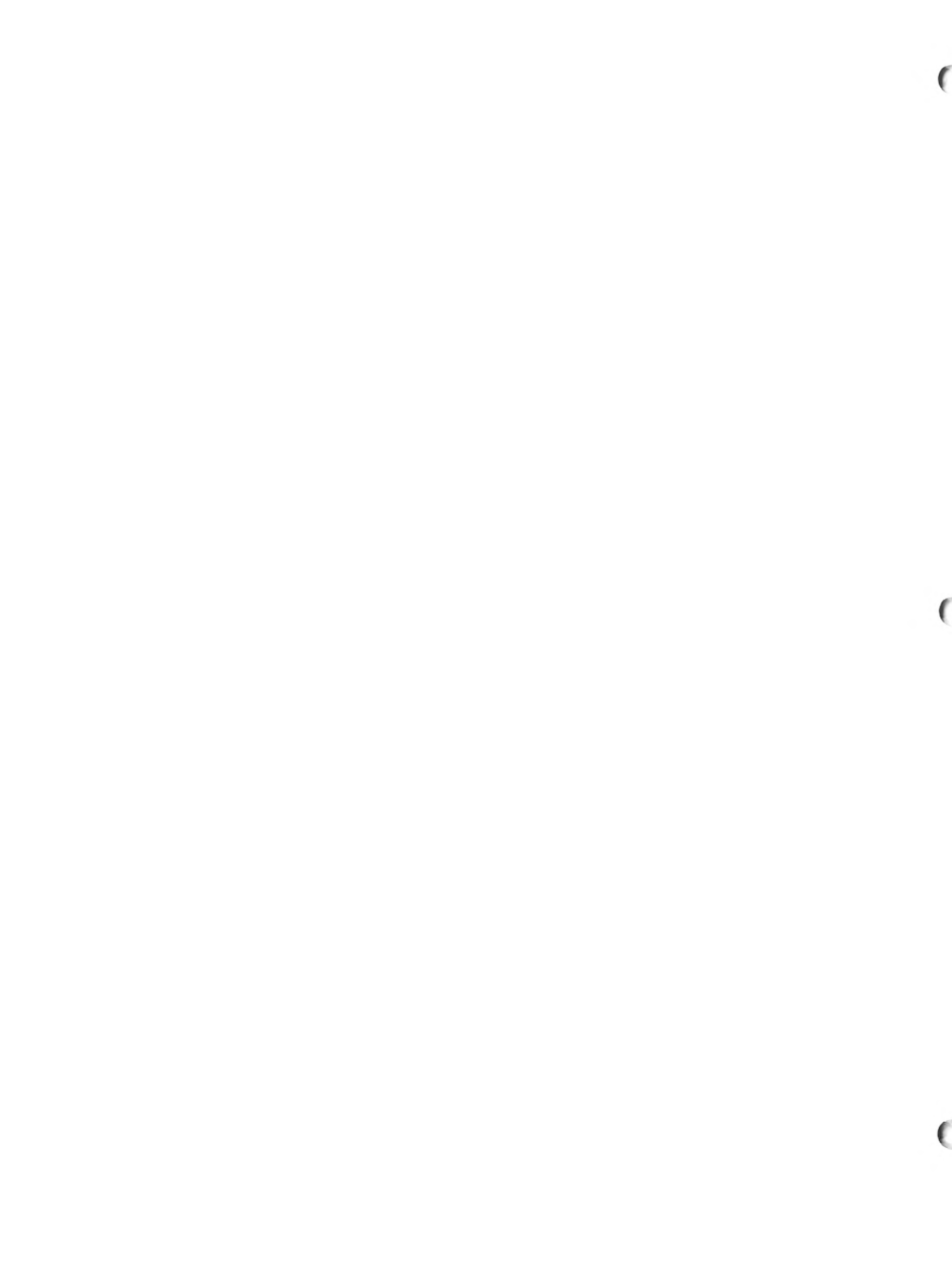


Part II

The purpose of my research project was to discover plans for heterosexual relationships, marriage, family, and career among a group of women in a small liberal arts college. To support the literature utilized in Part I, I began to further develop a review of the literature specifically from the United States' to become familiar with data from which I could create a questionnaire and to which I could compare the results of my survey.

The review of literature for the research project includes selected data reported for the United States between the late 1950s and 1990. It includes the nature of relationships between young college women and their heterosexual partners; sexual activity of college women with their partners; cohabitation; and the plans college women have for marriage, family, and careers.

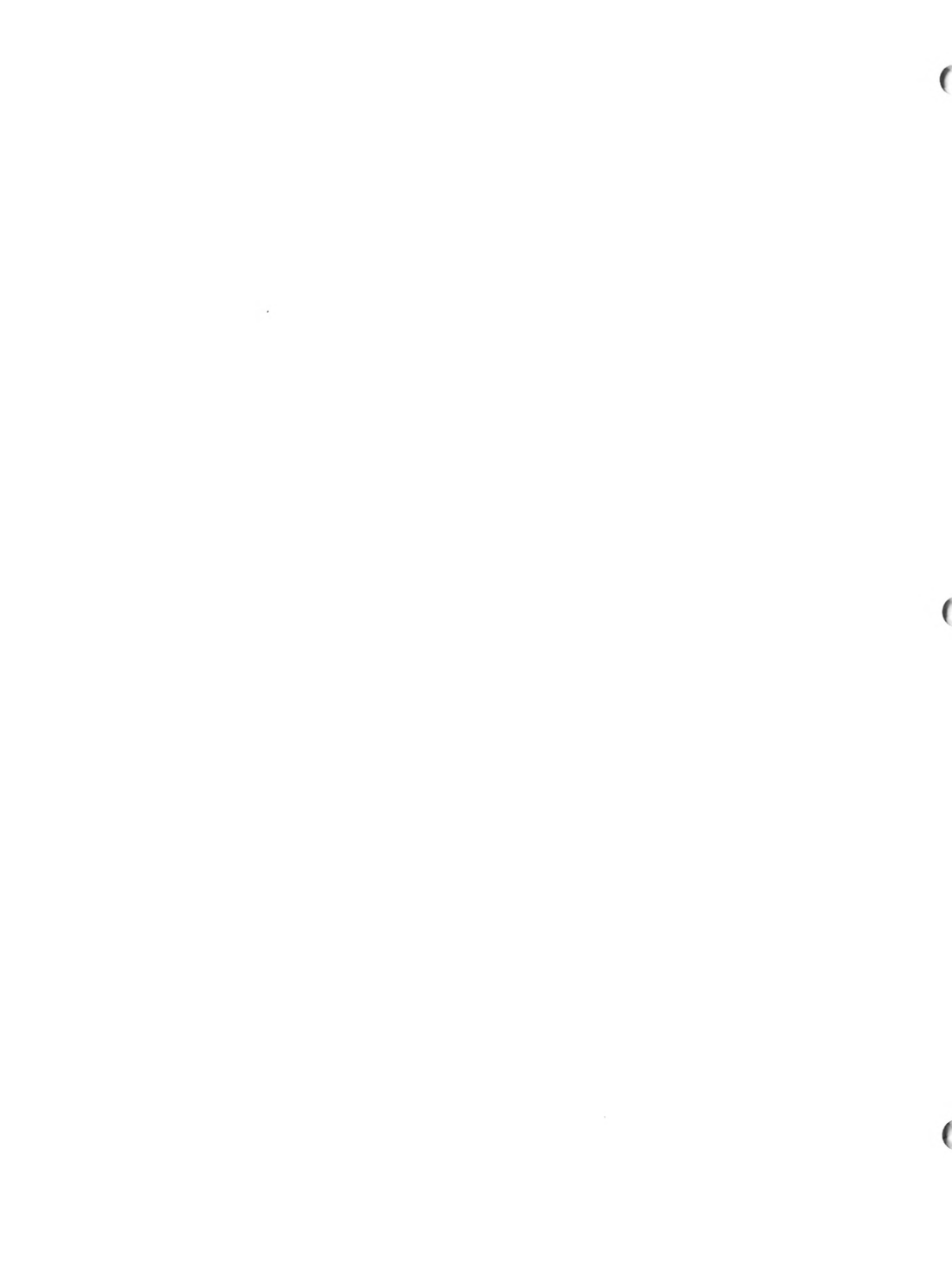
Recently, Skolnick and Skolnick (1989:232) wrote that the system of courtship today has given way to a new pattern of couple relationships that are less permanent, more flexible, and more experimental. There appears to be a convergence in the motivations and meaning, and the changing rates of premarital sex. Darling, Kallen, and VanDusen (1984) report that premarital sexual intercourse, based upon similar motives and meanings, has become so widely acceptable today that it has become the norm for both men and women. Their data show three major trends in sexual behavior during the twentieth century in the United States. First, that there has been an increase in the proportion of both males and females reporting coital involvement prior to marriage. Secondly, that there has been a



convergence of the coital rates reported by males and females, with two subtrends; a) in 1958 the highest reported for females and the lowest reported rate for males overlapped; and b) prior to 1970 the reported rate for males was approximately twice that for females while after 1970 the reported rates for males and females were within about 10 percentage points of each other. And finally, that there was a dramatic upswing in the reported coital rates after 1970, particularly among women, so that coital involvement now appears to be statistically normative among the age group reported upon. Skolnick and Skolnick agree that today sexual behavior is currently based on similar motives and similar meanings, the similarity providing the bases for defining premarital intercourse as normal, rather than deviant behavior. (See Table I and II,p.50)

Spanier (1986) believes that “social scientists can point to few trends in contemporary American society that have manifested such a dramatic pace of change and that have exhibited such consistent upward growth as the trend in unmarried cohabitation.” Most unmarried couples differ in age by no more than a few years. About four million American adults are living with a partner of the opposite sex whom they have not married. (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1983—1984) By definition, an unmarried cohabiting individual is an adult sharing living quarters with one unrelated adult of the opposite sex. It is reasonable to assume that most heterosexual unmarried couple with no other adults in the household live together because they are romantically involved. (See Table I and IV)

Skolnick and Skolnick’s (1989) data on the social and economic

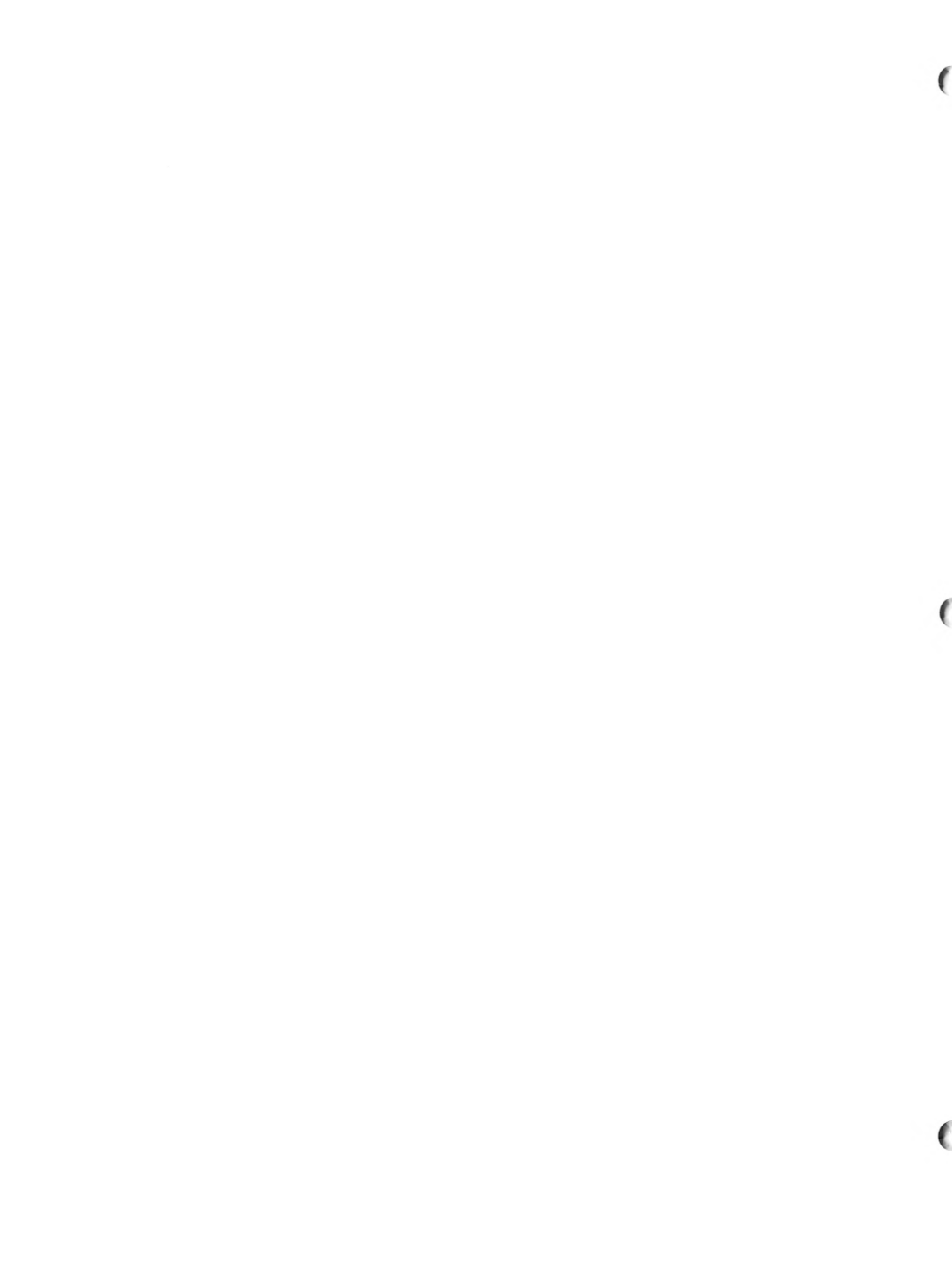


characteristics of couples provide some confirmation, the data suggesting an overall picture of consistency in the demographic characteristics of unmarried couples. (See Table II) Unmarried couples are evidently being drawn more fully into the mainstream of society. Society is more willing to ignore marital status in its evaluation and treatment of individuals, and those already in the mainstream of society are more willing to consider unmarried cohabitation as an acceptable living arrangement. However the data suggests most cohabitation occurs among the lower classes. (ibid)

Cohabitation will remain prominent in our society. The Skolnicks believe there will be an overall increase in cohabitation and that the age of first marriage probably will continue its increase as cohabitation replaces early marriage. Future cohorts will find the freedoms and flexibility of cohabitation attractive, and almost certainly, behavior across social class lines will converge.

According to recent data, marriage will just make cohabitation "official". Sociologists Bumpass and Sweet (1989; Glamour Magazine:254) reported that forty—four percent of today's couples lived together before their first marriage, four times as many who did so in 1970. On the average, one—half of those who cohabit marry after three years.

The comparative numbers of eligible young men and women may also be influencing the trends of marriage. Since 1985 there has been a surplus of eligible men and a shortage of women in their twenties, and by the early 1990s the male to female ratio is expected to be 108 to 100. By the year 2000 the ratio for twenty to thirty year olds will

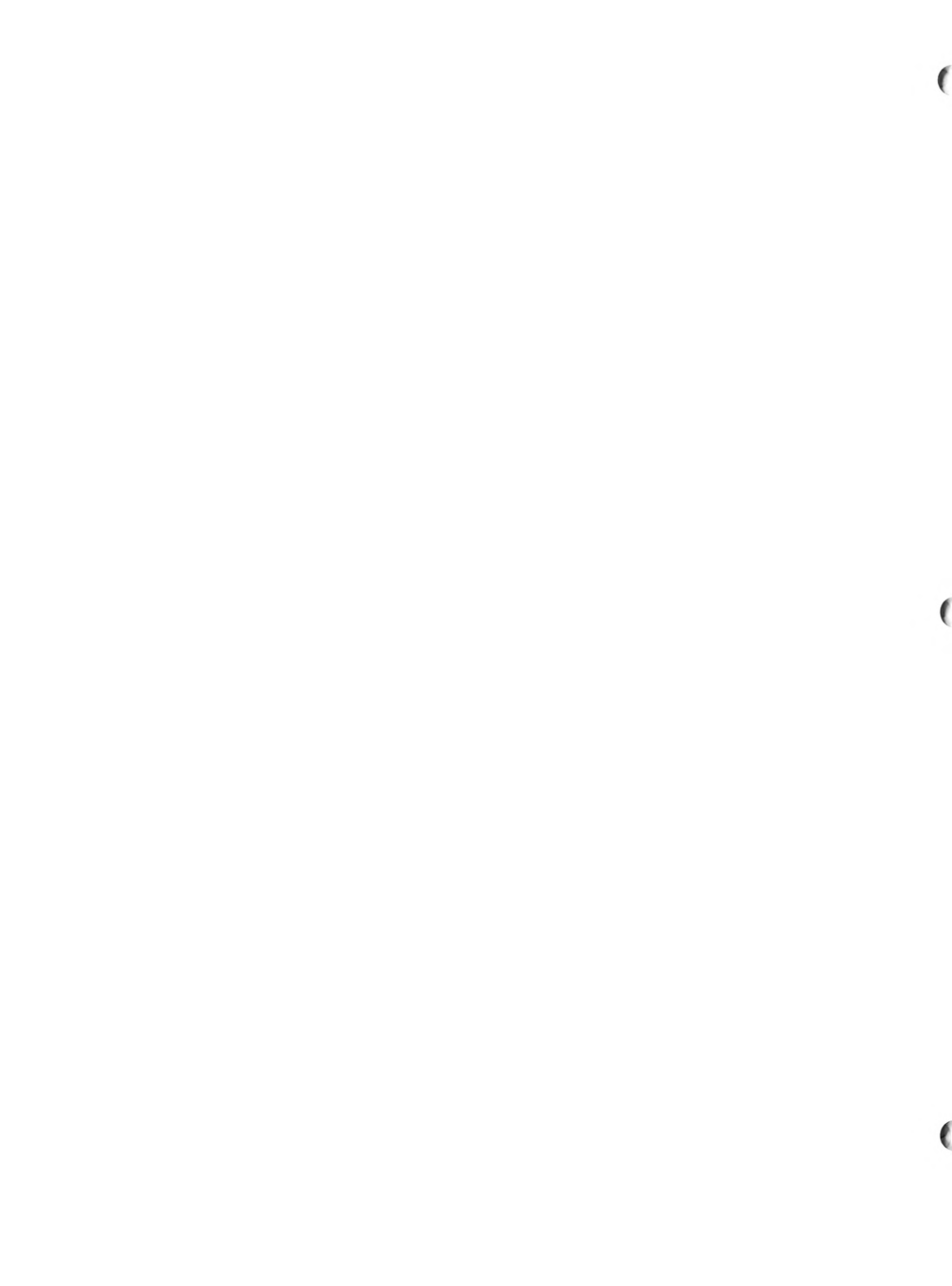


balance out at 103 men to 100 women.

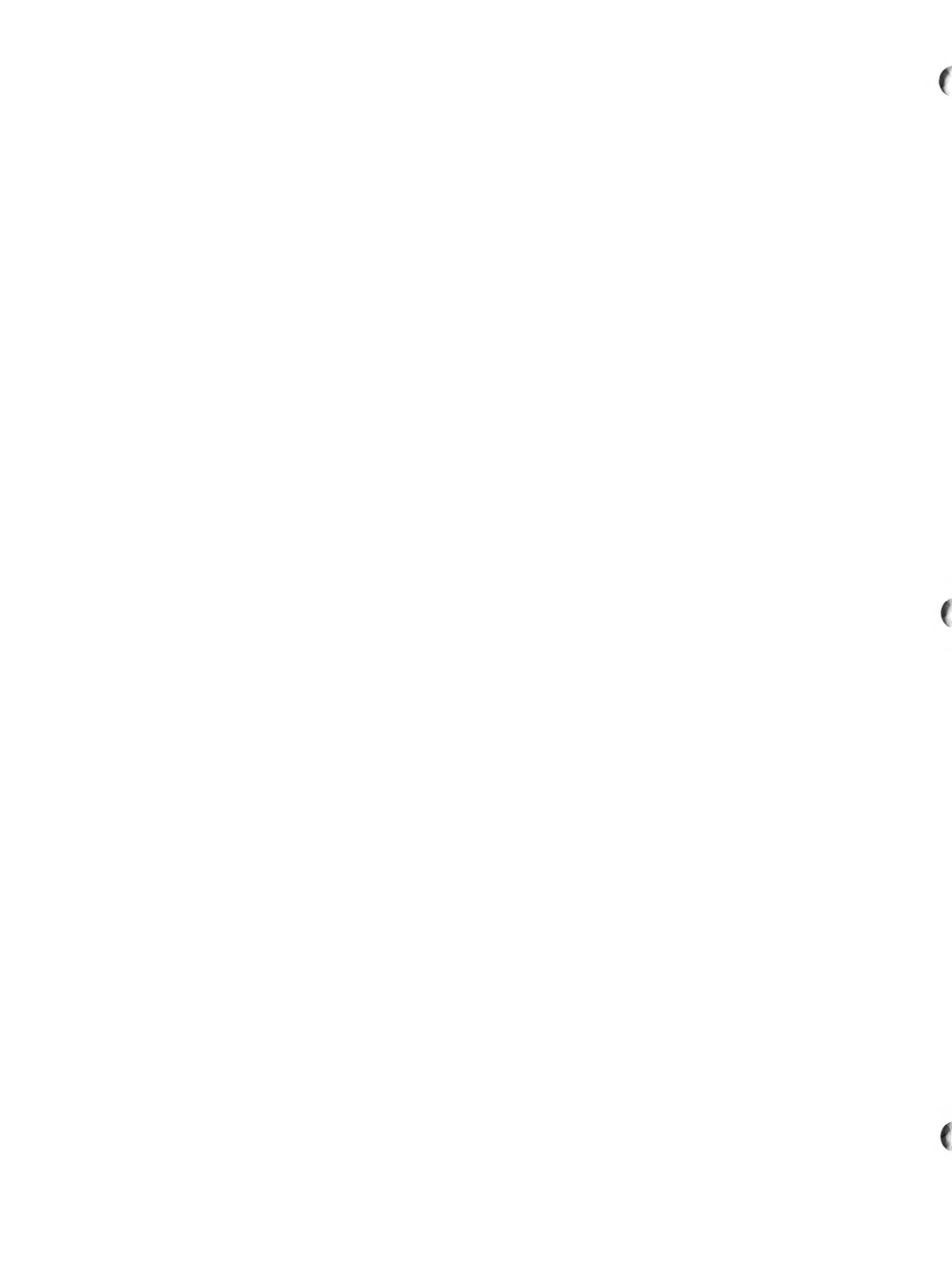
Nearly ten years ago, Cherlin (1981) noted the trend that young adults were not marrying as quickly as they had just ten or twenty previously. (See Table V,p.52) Today more and more recent college graduates are postponing marriage until their mid— or late twenties. Getting married within weeks of graduation, a symbol of success for many college women in the 1950s and early 1960s, is now much less common. Instead, during the past decade there has been a great increase in the number of young adults who have moved in with someone of the opposite sex without marrying first. Some observers are concerned that the later age at marriage and increase in “cohabitation” or “living together” might indicate weakening of our system of marriage and family life. Today women marry on the average at 23.6 and men at 25.9. However, overall marriage rates are going up. (See Graph I and II,p.48) Almost every adult in the United States eventually marries.

The late age at marriage today may be related to economic conditions. Bumpass and Sweet (1989) conclude that a drop in income caused by a change from an industrial to a service—oriented society resulted in marriage no longer offering the economic security to women it once did. They warn that the changing economic system is very likely to have a feedback effect on how young people view marriage. Marriage itself is becoming increasingly ambiguous in meaning.

Along with changes in the age and meaning of marriage Blumstein and Schwartz (1983:25—49) found that marital structures and functions are changing. At one end of the spectrum there is



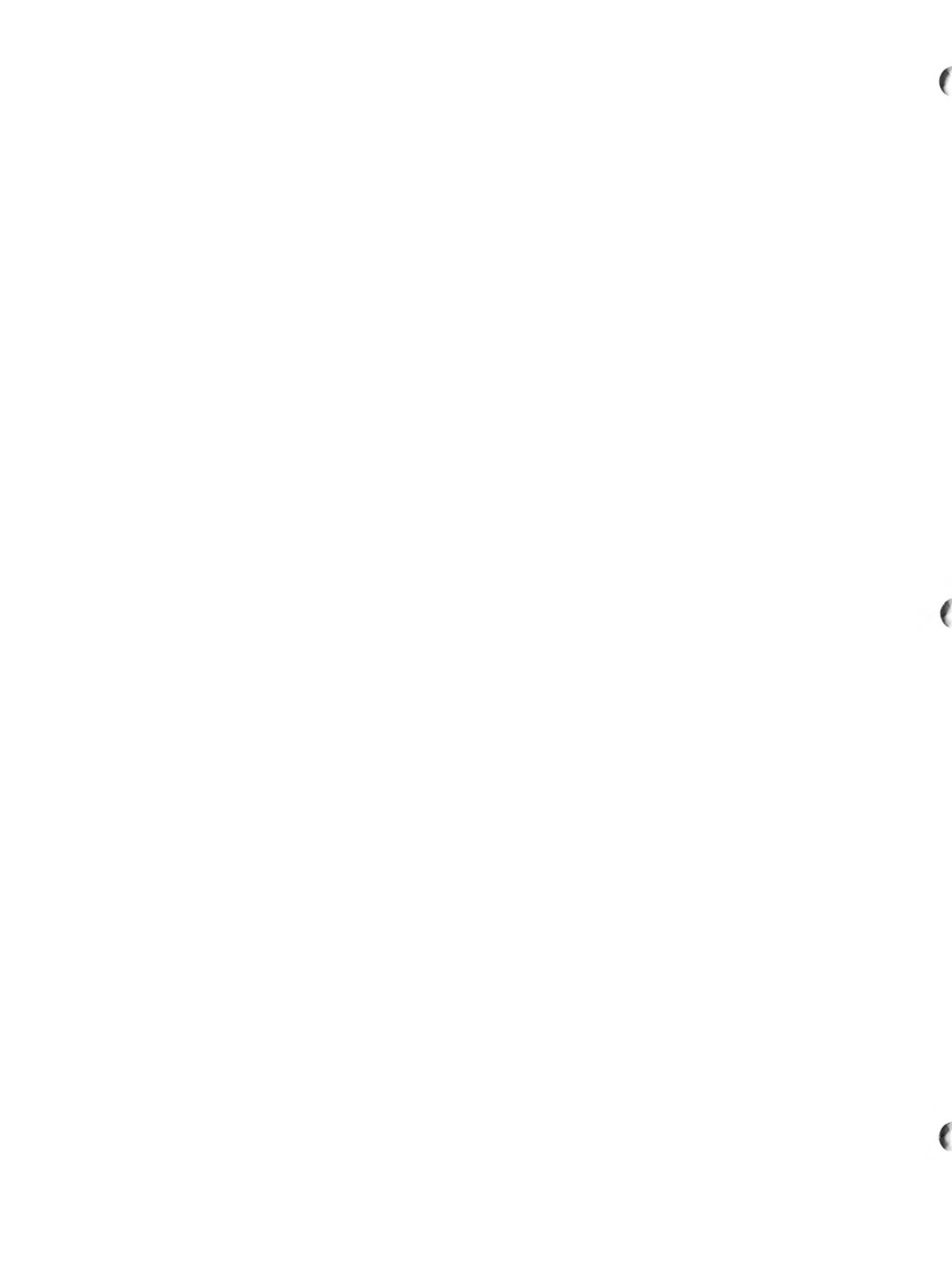
traditional monogamous marriage, with a husband who works outside the home, and has unquestioned authority. The wife works as a homemaker, and there is little divorce. At the other end of the spectrum are the most experimental forms of marriage including: voluntary marriage; trail marriage; egalitarian marriage; and cohabitators who don't ever plan to marry. Voluntary marriage lasts only while the couple is in love. This may require special "contracts" which are renewable every year or every five years. However, the high expectations of voluntary marriage may make permanence improbable. Trail marriages are quite conservative in that they are exactly like traditional marriage except that the couple has not yet made the final decision to marry legally. The actual experience of a trail period does shape expectations of a family since no children will be born until their future assured by legal marriage. Trial marriage may be the non-marital form that is closest to traditional, legal marriage in most cases. (See Table VI) Egalitarian marriages are associated with the new economic marriage structure. Husbands are no longer absolute authoritarians in the union because they are not the sole source of income. The working wife is a financial partner, who shares the man's traditional role as economic provider, thus acquiring more power in the marriage union. Cohabitators who plan never to marry are attempting to create a new institution, one without the state's participation. However, before it can become an institution, it would have to have a predictable structure, and currently cohabitation takes too many forms. Thus it will be difficult for cohabitation to become an institution while the traditional model of marriage still exists.



Nonetheless, views like these are changing the overall structure and meaning of marriages in the United States, and Lienhardt (1966:91) notes among the most striking and sometimes painful effects of economic change are those which occur in marriage and the family, the central institutions of any society. It is my hypothesis that changes in the economic system may produce changes in expectations for marriage.

Even today marriage trends in the United States do not always follow the pattern of monogamy, but include instead a variety of structures with multiple spouses such as those found in non—Western societies. For example, although the United States does not currently allow polyandry and polygyny by law, it sometimes occurs in modified form, such as among the black, unwed mothers in city ghettos. These women on welfare must compete for the limited number of black males and may be one of a number of “wives” a black man may have, economically subsisting on her welfare money. White and Burton (1989) in a study of polygyny, (marital relations involving multiple wives) found a relationship between this form of marriage and economic factors; while Levine (A.A.;1989:809) in a study of polyandry (a rare marriage structure in which a wife has more than one husband at a time), also found that economics influenced this form of marriage.

Do women want or need a permanent sexual relationship? According to a recent survey only one in ten unmarried women reports she couldn't be happy without a permanent (male) relationship. (Self Magazine;1989:166) For those who wanted a relationship only fourteen percent thought that “being taken care of”



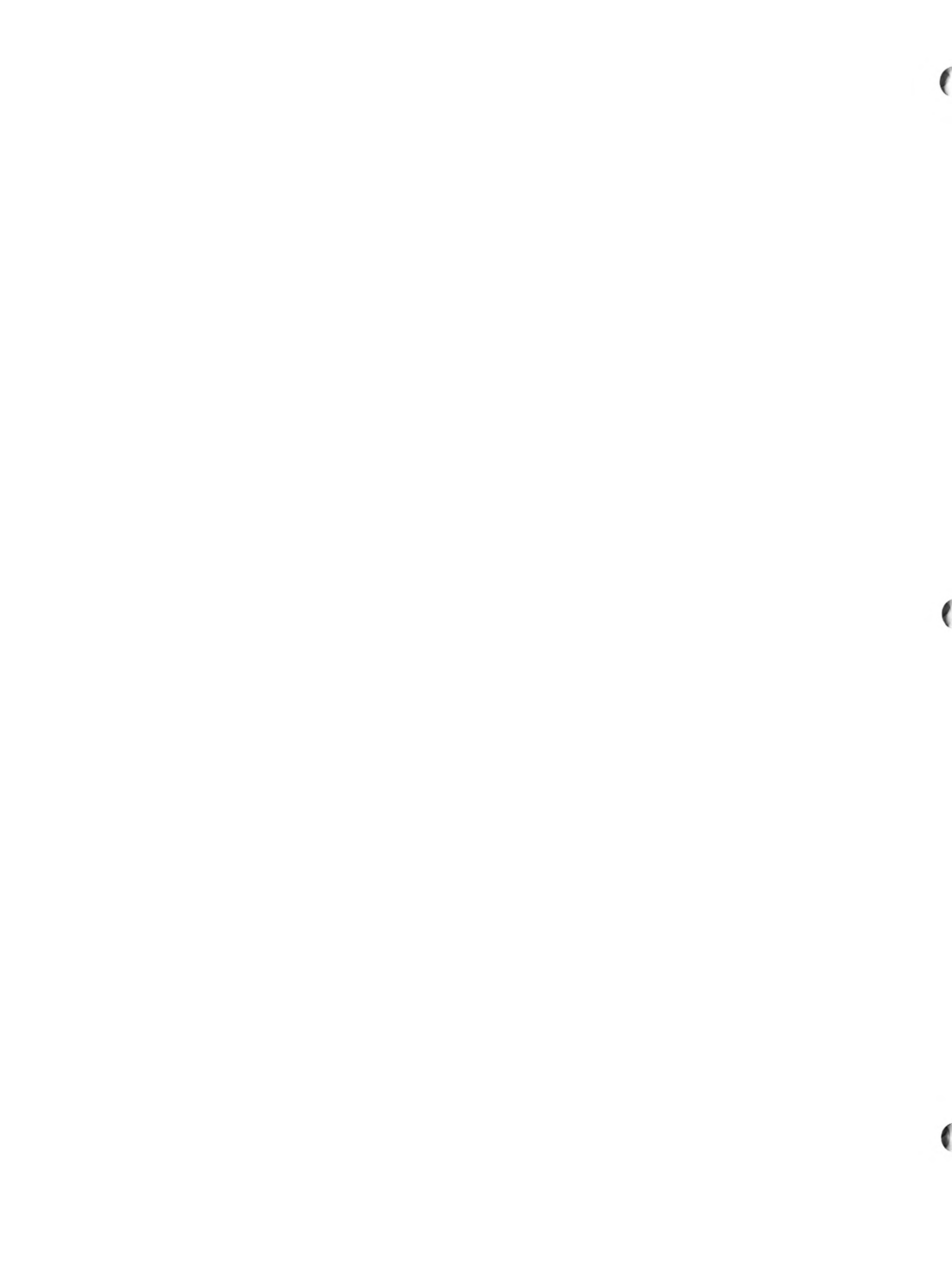
was the most important part of the relationship. (*ibid*) Three quarters of the women, married or not, considered just being able to talk about anything to be the most important part of marriage. Robinowitz (*ibid*:167) a clinical professor of psychiatry at George Washington University thinks that women do better if they marry for friendship, since a couple that shares a feeling of partnership or friendship usually copes better when faced with the normal ups and downs of life.

In Bumpass's 1989 study he predicted that 2/3 of all marriages will end in divorce, as opposed to the more common estimate of half of all marriages ending that way. He believes "children will be the most affected by the changes." Bumpass also points out that the United States is not the only nation witnessing changes. There are increased rates of single parenthood, cohabitation, and divorce in other Western industrialized nations as well. (1989)

Dobson (1987) reports divorce rates are age related. Girls who marry between 14 and 17 years of age are more than twice as likely to divorce as those who marry at ages 18 or 19. Even at 18 or 19 marital stability is not always found, girls these ages are one and a half times more likely to divorce than those who marry in their twenties.

Norton and Moorman's (1986) results indicate: "that first marriages are taking place later; more adult women will never marry; divorce has likely peaked; remarriage after divorce is becoming less frequent; and among current adult cohorts of women, those representing the first ten years of the baby boom are expected to have the highest incidence of divorce."

What are the predictions for woman having children? According



to Westoff's research (cited in Glamour Magazine; 1989:255) , most women will wait until their late twenties or early thirties to have their first child, and they will have fewer children than their ancestors. He predicts that fifty percent of young American women will have either one child or none at all.

Even though women are planning to have fewer children on the average, contraceptive research is dying both on the private and governmental sectors of development. The only new research has been on a male hormone contraceptive which is planned to be released in the late 1990's which will inhibit sperm production. Fertility of the most recent cohorts appears to be at an all-time low. Ninety percent of women between the ages of 22 —29 hope to have children, but will raise their family without giving up the career of their choice. (ibid)

Cetron and Davies (ibid:252) citing trends for the 1990s report that in Scandinavia, where social trends precede ours by about ten years, there is a move toward “co—housing” —planned communities that combine individual homes with facilities for shared meals, child care, and other support systems for the two worker households. In Europe the number of co—housing communities has quadrupled in the last five years. By the year 2000, twenty—two percent of the labor force, both male and female, may be working in their own homes. This will allow more women to have larger families and more time to devote to what has been termed in the past the “mommy track”.

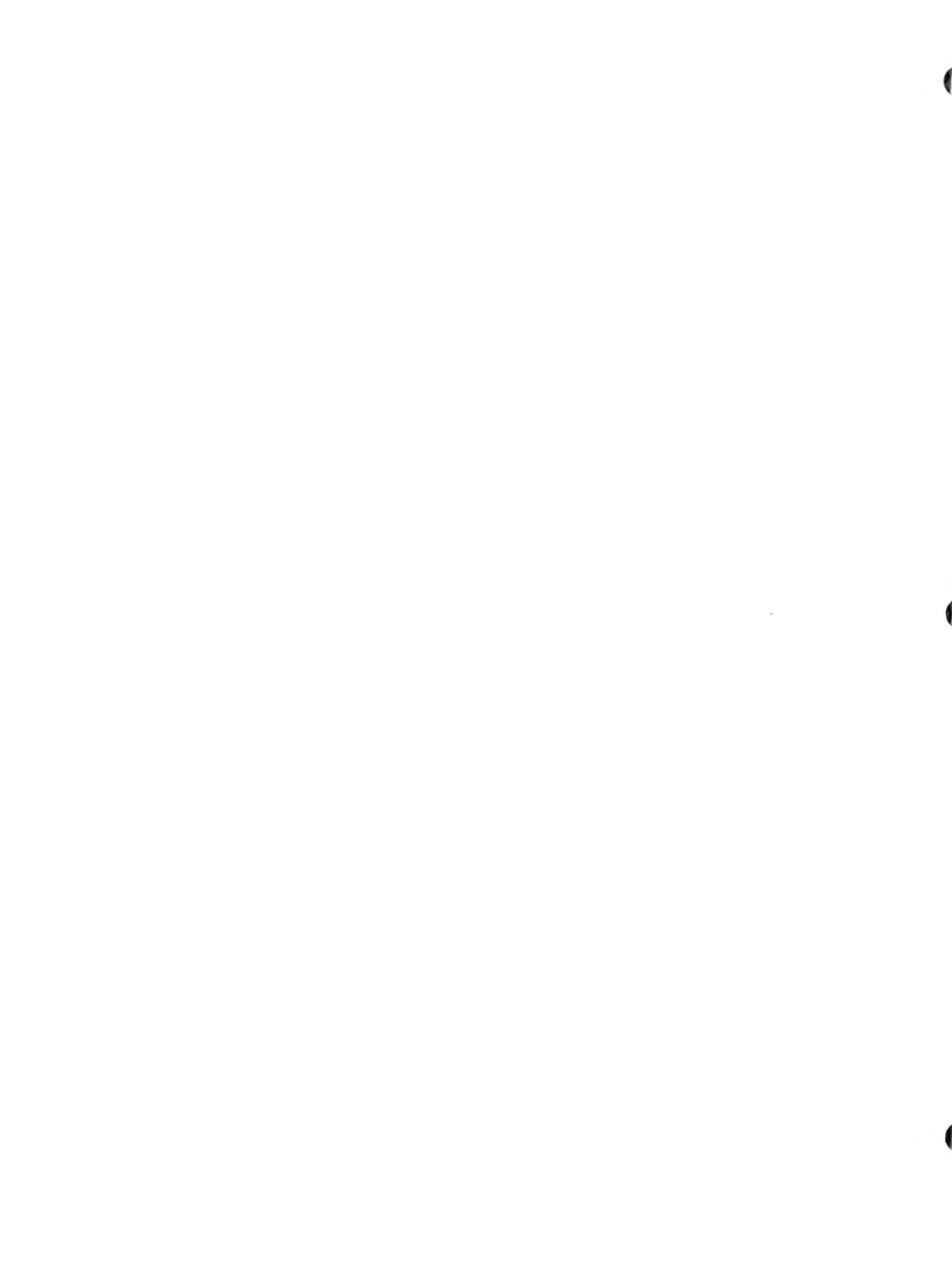
Even today, women are combining work, marriage and family life. In a recent survey over 2/3 of the women in a sample of 1,100 reported that their current life works “all in all”. (SELF Magazine;



1989:165) Only one in five felt trapped by their current situation/lifestyle, although half the women polled believed their mother's lives were easier than their own. Nonetheless, none would trade places with their mother if they could.

According to the United States Department of Labor three quarters of the women aged eighteen to forty—nine are currently in the work force. Half of the women who have a child one year old or younger also work. One third of working mothers have part—time jobs and one half of the “at home mothers” plan to return to work within the next few years. (SELF; ibid) In addition, three out of four unmarried women would rather have a career than becoming a homemaker.

These statistics all show rapid changes in the institutions of marriage and the family, largely due to changes in the fundamentals of the economic system in the United States. Most women in the survey reported that they work just to earn money, but many enjoy the sense of accomplishment and competence a job also provides. (ibid) Many women felt financial independence was more important than “putting their lives on hold” until they married. According to O’Leary (cited: ibid) “most women , like most men, want a sense of security and a decent salary from their work.” Schwartz (cited: ibid) reports that women do not want to put their lives “on hold”. He considers this to be “the biggest change of the past two decades. Even ten years ago, many more young women would have talked about putting off certain parts of their lives until they married. Now there has been almost a complete reversal in women’s sense of independence, whether or not



there is a man in their lives.”

According to Bumpass (1989) family and work life in the United States will never be the same because of changes affecting the traditional structure. However, the three year study of 13,000 persons for the National Institute of Health showed that “families continue to be very important in the lives of most of our citizens.” (Glamour; ibid)

In a recent survey (1990) of 61 Sweet Briar College seniors conducted by the Career Planning Office, 67 percent of the seniors reported that they plan to begin a career after graduation. (Compare with Table VII,p.53 and Graph III,p.49) Many felt that the best part of a career was income. However, nearly half considered personal independence to be the best part of a career. Some, (fifteen percent) were simply anxious to get out into the “real world”. In response to questions which asked them to identify their concerns about their future, 15 percent expressed fear that they would not find a job or have a source of personal income, and 12 percent were fearful they would not be happy in their chosen career. Other fears included not be able to meet their expenses and/or budget (See Graph IV,p.49) where they would live and how they would manage to live their own. The women were also concerned about: looking for a job; finding a “good” job; being prepared; handling the pressures of men in the workplace; experiencing a decline in their lifestyle; and coping with life in the big city. Others were afraid of being alone; being away from their family; and meeting new people.



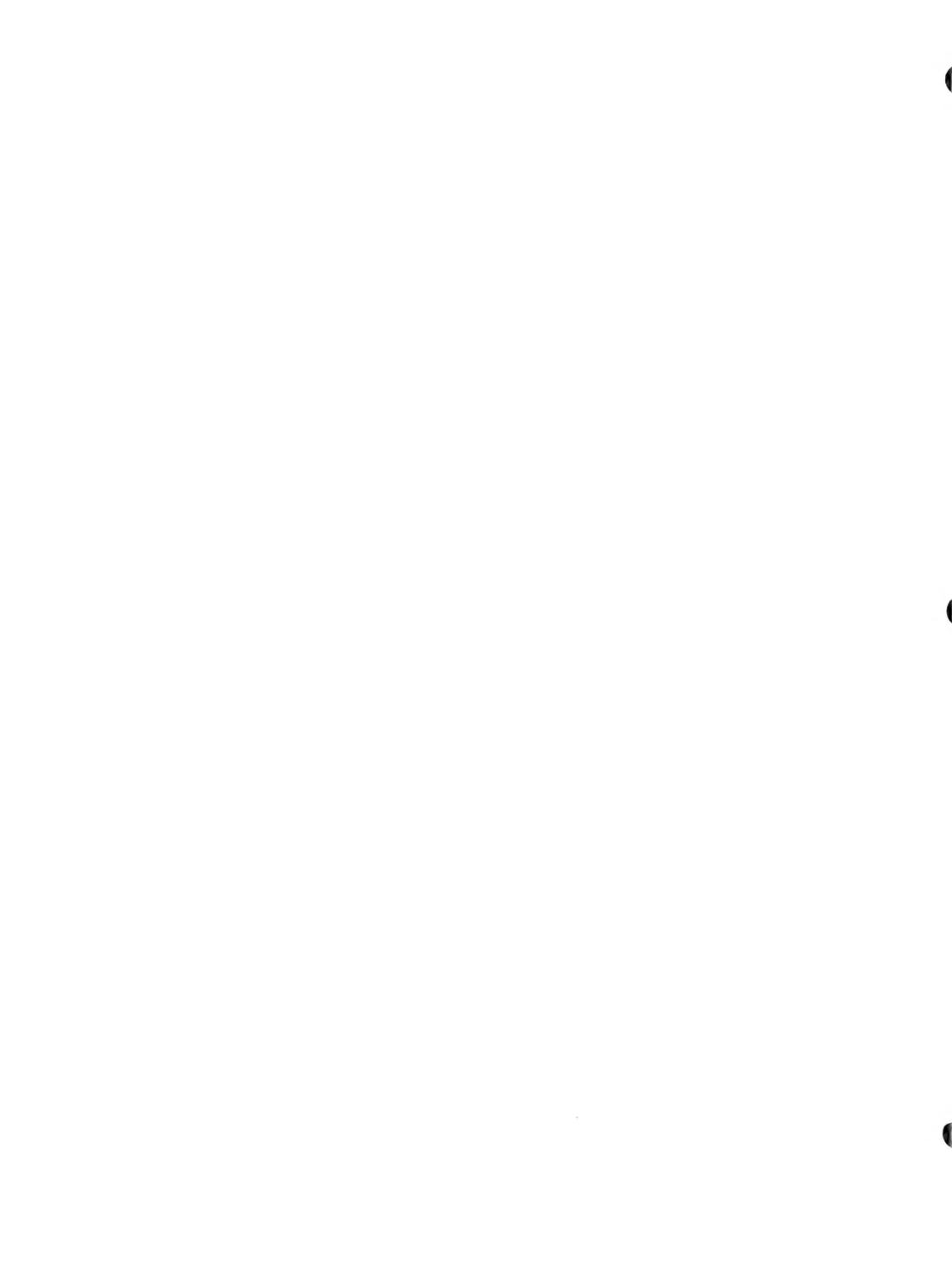
Methodology

In the fall of 1989 I conducted a survey of 92 liberal arts college students, utilizing ideas for the questionnaire from a survey of Blumstein and Schwartz reported in American Couples (1983:603-609). The questionnaire (see Appendix I) included structured multiple choice and fill—in—the—blank answers, and several open—ended, unstructured answers.

I used convenience sampling, a type of non—probability sampling drawn from students in a classroom setting. I am aware that this method of sampling does not allow me to generalize beyond one college population, since the probability that a person will be chosen for the sample is not known. However, the excellence of response (100%) provides data that may be considered valid for this sample. Nonetheless, my findings can only be compared to the findings in the literature and not generalized to included all campus populations.

My sample returns included twenty—five freshman, thirteen percent of the class of 1993; twenty—four sophomores, seventeen percent of the class of 1992; twenty—one juniors, seventeen percent of the class of 1991; and twenty seniors, seventeen percent of the class of 1990, for a total of 92 college students. The findings can only predict trends for marriage among students at this small, private women's college.

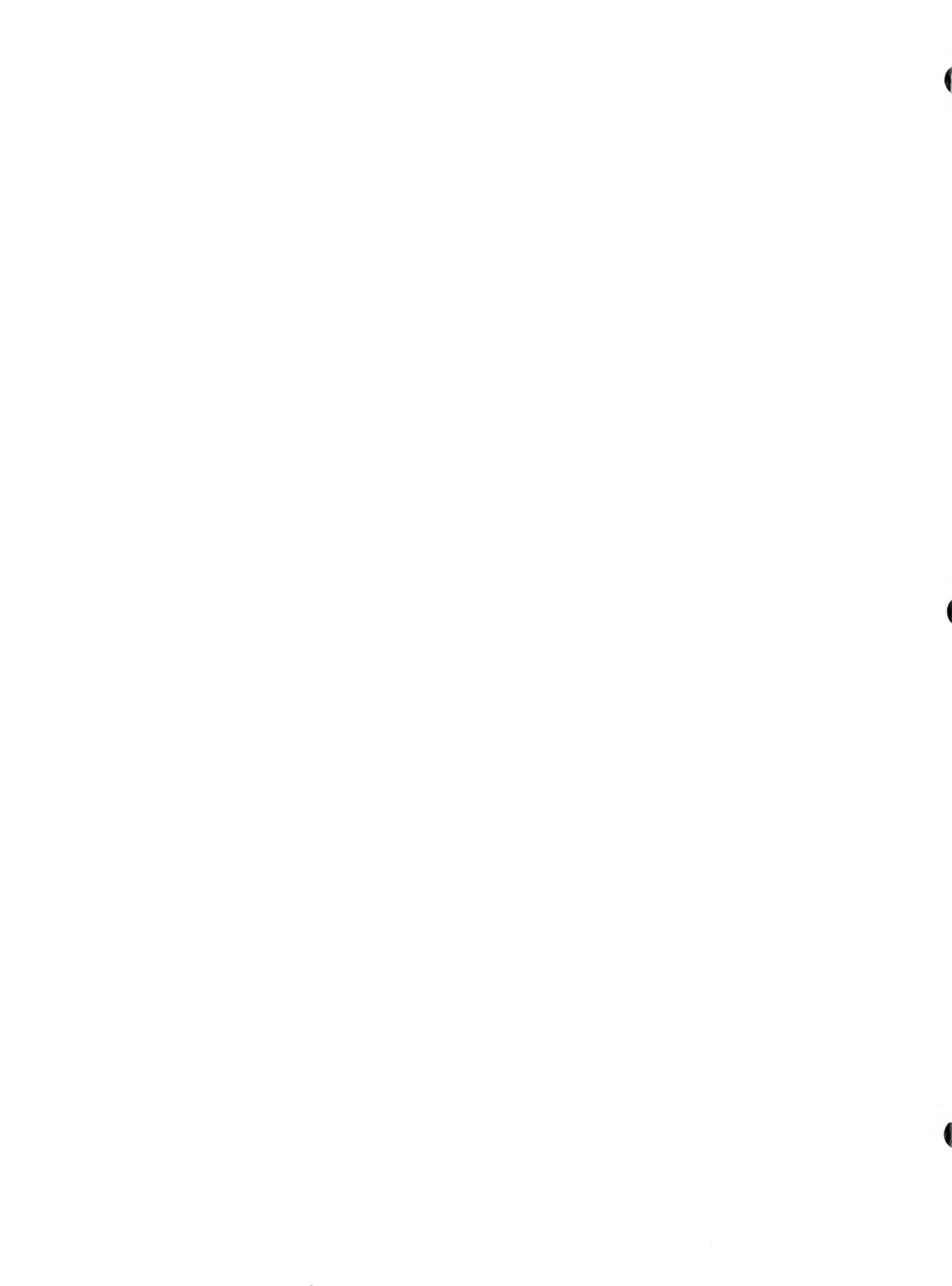
My questionnaire included thirty—five questions structured to elicit six categories of data from the respondents: 1) partner(s) of the respondent; 2) sexual activity, if any; 3) demographic information; 4) the marriage(s) and occupations of the parents; 5) plans for the future



including marriage and family; 6)and attitude toward divorce.

The first and major category, "partners", includes thirteen questions, one-third of the total questionnaire, and allows the respondent to describe whether she has a partner with whom she has a romantic or sexual relationship. The first two questions in this category ask if she has a current significant partner, and if so, the name that she calls that person, whether "boyfriend", "financé", or "other." The "other" category was to allow a name for a non-traditional relationship such as a lesbian partner. The next two questions, designed to obtain data on the permanence of the relationship, ask how long the partners have known one another, and how long they have been a couple. The third question, intended to identify college and class influences, asks where the partners met.

Another category of questions address the issue of living together, sexual activity and birth control/ disease control methods in order to identify the risks taken in the relationship; another question seeks to determine the seriousness of the relationship, whether the respondent is considering engagement and/or marriage plans with current partner. Both of these questions were included to determine the level of commitment in current relationships, whether or not the students are dealing with the possible outcomes of their sexual relations by using birth control and disease control methods; and possible trends of promiscuity, measured by the number of current partners. This section concluded with a question to determine the future trends for marriage among this group of women, whether the respondent planned to marry in the future and how far off in the



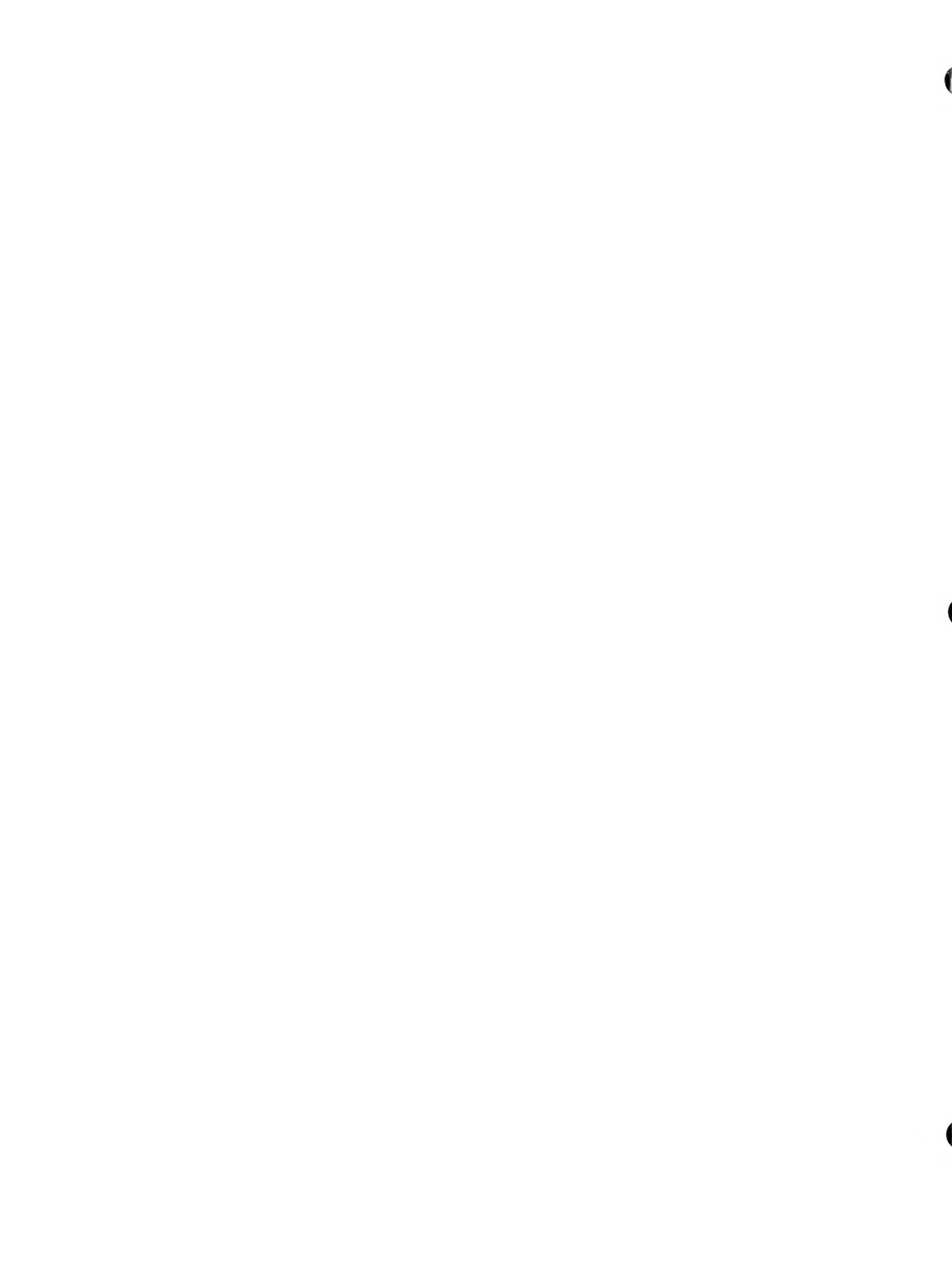
future they expected to marry.

The demographic category obtained information on the age of the participant, academic class and marital status. Students were asked for their age and academic class to help determine changes by class (from the freshmen year, through the sophomore and juniors year, to the senior year. Marital status was asked to determine whether the respondent was a "turning point student", adult students who are returning to college and are often married and have children. I received two questionnaires completed by married students and these were not included in the survey results.

The parents category included questions on the parent's occupations and their present marital status. The occupation of the father was expected to identify the respondent's social class; and the occupation of both the mother and the father was expected to identify the family's economic position based on the combined salaries. The question on parental marital status was expected to provide data on divorce and its effect on the socialization of the respondent as well as possible effects on her future marital relationships.

The fifth category of the questionnaire deal with the participants plans for the future. Questions ask students their plans in relationships if marriage is not a choice, it also includes an open ended question where participants where participants can discuss their fears and concerns. Finally this section asks whether or not the students hope to have children, either adopted or biological, and how many.

The final category of my questionnaire asks for an open ended



comment on the participants fear or lack of fear of the ever present reality of divorce in our society. I asked this question to see if the marital structure of the parents may have influenced their answers to questions on marriage and their future.

Analysis of Data

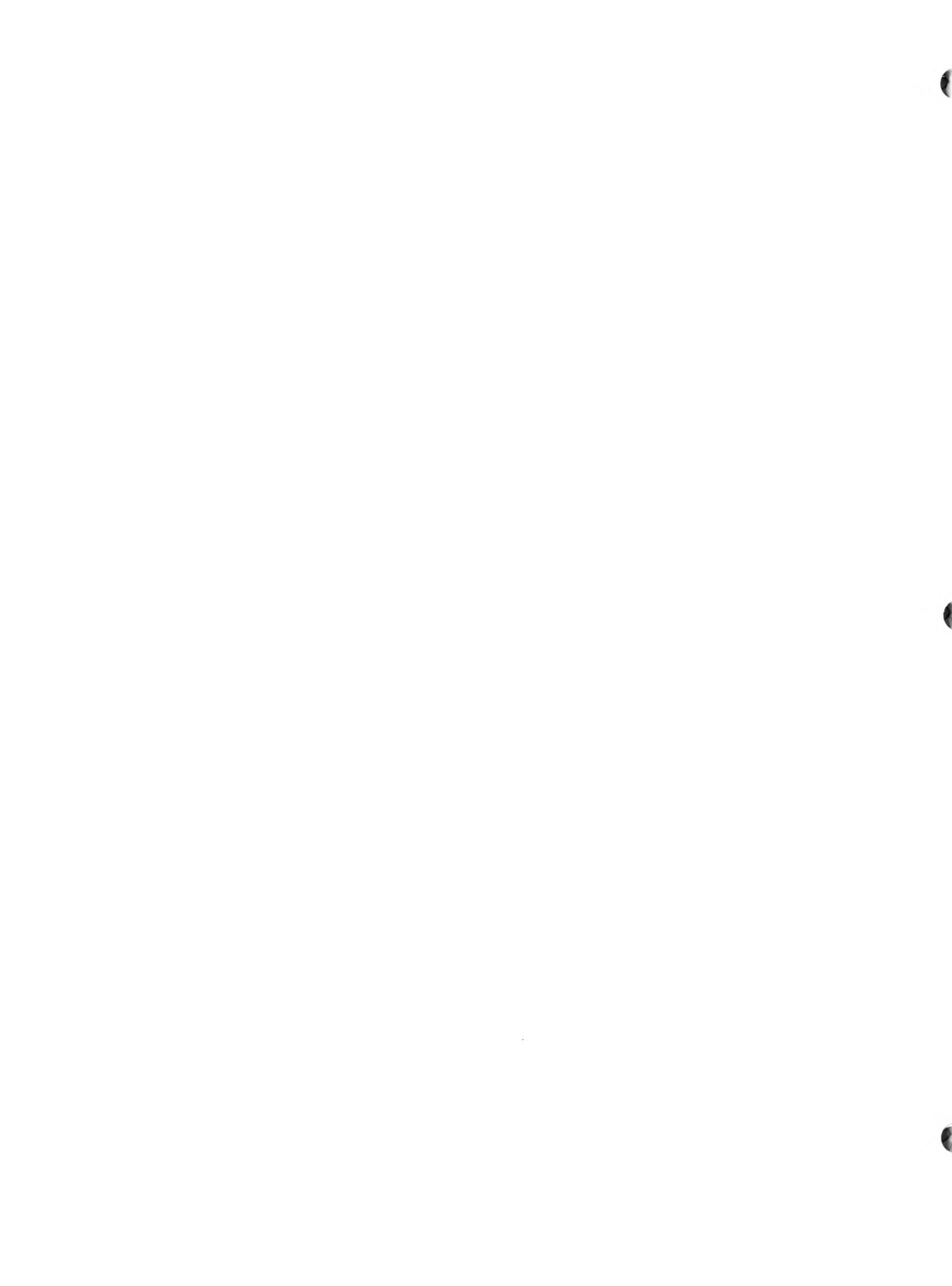
The data were first organized into a general table, and then were broken down on the basis of academic class into four groups.

Group A — Freshman Academic Class

Demographics: The age of the freshman varied from eighteen to twenty-four. Four percent were born in 1966, twelve percent were born in 1970, seventy-six percent were born in 1971, and eight percent were born in 1972.

Sixty-four percent of the freshman have a significant partner in their life. Of these freshman eighty-eight call their significant partner “boyfriend”. None of the freshman is engaged, but forty-four percent hope to become engaged to their current boyfriend: fourteen percent within one year; twenty-nine percent in two or three years; forty-three percent in four or five years; and fourteen percent will wait five to ten years. Only fourteen percent of these freshman plan to be married within a year, all the others plan to wait three years or longer. Thirty-eight percent of the freshman who have a current partner “live together” with him at least two days a week.

Eighty-eight percent of the freshman who do not have a current partner or who do not plan to marry their current boyfriend, do plan to get married sometime in the future. Forty-seven percent plan to



marry in four to five years, and thirty-five percent plan to marry in five to ten years. Only twenty—four percent plan to wait ten or more years to get married.

The freshman when answering the question: “Which of these choices best describe your future plans?” instead of choosing a multiple choice answer, wrote in answers under the choice: other. Their responses included: “stay with one guy as long as it lasts”; “date many—chose—marry”; “date one person seriously then marry”; and “marry”.

Fifty-two percent of the freshman surveyed are sexually active, all of these students practice some form of birth control. The condom is their preferred method (sixty-two percent); with the use of the pill placing second at forty-six percent. Other methods are also practiced by eight percent of the freshman, many using more than one method at a time.

Of the twenty-five freshman class members surveyed ninety-six percent plan to have biological children, only eight percent plan to adopt children. Seventeen percent of the freshman hope to have only one child. Forty-two percent would like to have two children. Seventeen percent would like to have two or three children and seventeen percent would like to have three children. Only eight percent would like to have four or more children. The freshman who plan to adopt children would consider raising one or two children that were not biologically their own.

Of the twenty-five freshman surveyed eighty percent come from homes where their parents are married. Only twenty percent have



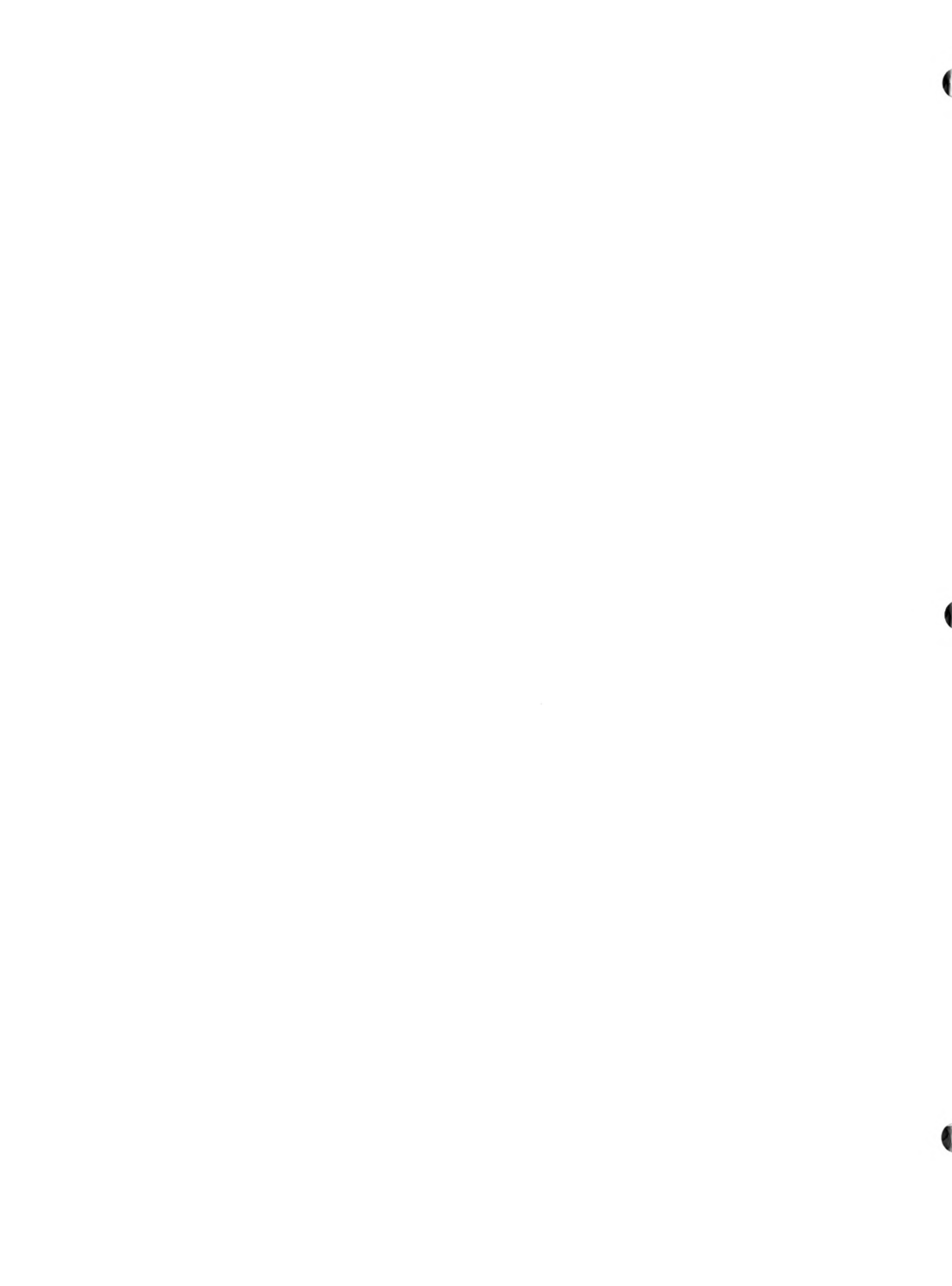
parents that divorced. Of those with divorced parents, only three of the fathers remarried. Of these five students with divorced parents, forty percent fear divorce and forty percent do not fear divorce, while the other twenty percent are conscious of divorce but not fearful of it. Sixty percent of these student with divorced parents have current boyfriends which they hope to marry, and only plan to date this one person seriously.

The freshman surveyed have parents which are employed in a variety of jobs/occupations. The number on job among freshman's mothers is as a housewife/homemaker. The number one job among freshman's fathers is as a businessman. Two freshman have mothers in non-traditional occupations: one is a sports coordinator and the other is a mayor. Of the parents that are divorced two mothers are still homemakers and do not have outside jobs.

Group B — Sophomore Academic Class

Demographics: Twenty—four sophomores were surveyed. One of these students was a married student and her information will not be used for that reason. Among these twenty—three students the ages range from twenty—two to nineteen: four percent were born in 1968; twenty—six percent were born in 1969; sixty—five percent were born in 1970 and four percent were born in 1971.

Sixty percent of the sophomores in the sample have a significant partner in their lives, ninety three percent of who call this partner boyfriend. Seven percent refer to their partner as fiance, and are currently engaged. Fifty percent of these sophomores hope/plan to



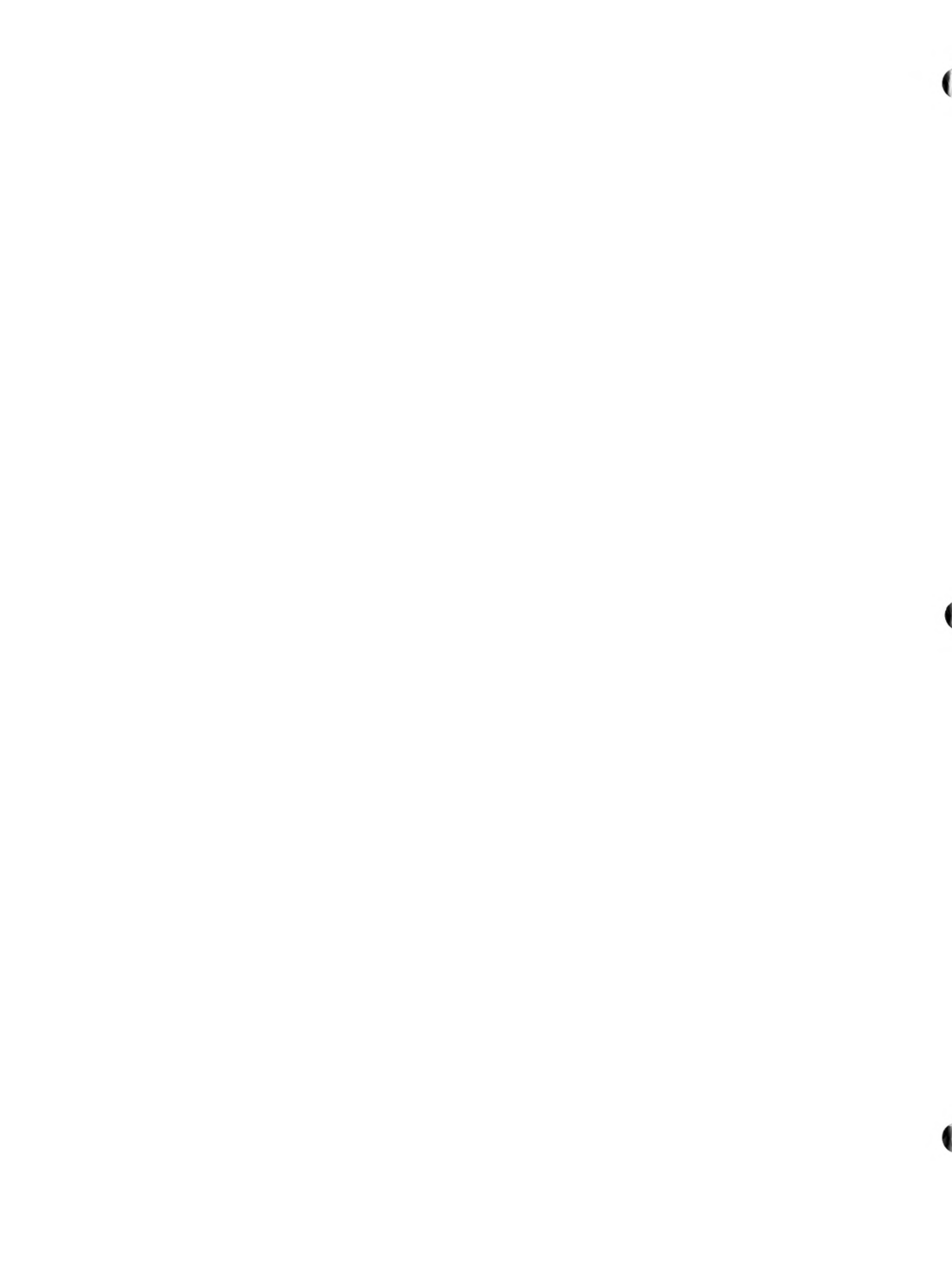
get engaged to their current boyfriend within three years. Forty—two percent hope to marry their current partner in three years, forty—two percent in four-five years and two percent in five to ten years.

Twenty—nine percent of the sophomores with current partners live together. Fifty percent live together three days a week. If these students do not have a current partner, sixty—three percent plan to marry in the future. Thirty—three percent hope to marry in four to five years , forty—seven percent in five to ten years and thirteen percent hope to marry in ten or more years.

The sophomores when asked to best describe future plans gave the following responses: “whatever happens”; “date a few people”; “date one person seriously, then marry”; “get married”; and one stated she was “unable to predict her future plans”.

Fifty—nine percent of the sophomores surveyed are sexually active and all practice birth control. Once again the condom is the preferred method among fifty—four percent of those who are sexually active. Forty—six percent use the pill, eight percent use the rhythm method , others use the sponge or withdrawal methods of birth control.

Eighty—seven percent of the sophomores surveyed plan to have biological children, the other thirteen percent plan to adopt children. Ten percent would like to have only one or two children. Thirty percent want two children, whereas fifteen percent want two or three. Fifteen percent would like to have three or four, however, only five percent want four children. Ten percent hope to have four to six children. Fifteen percent of these sophomores are undecided on how



many children they hope to have. Of those who wish to adopt, thirty—three percent would like one, thirty—three percent would like one or two, and the other thirty—three percent would like to adopt three children.

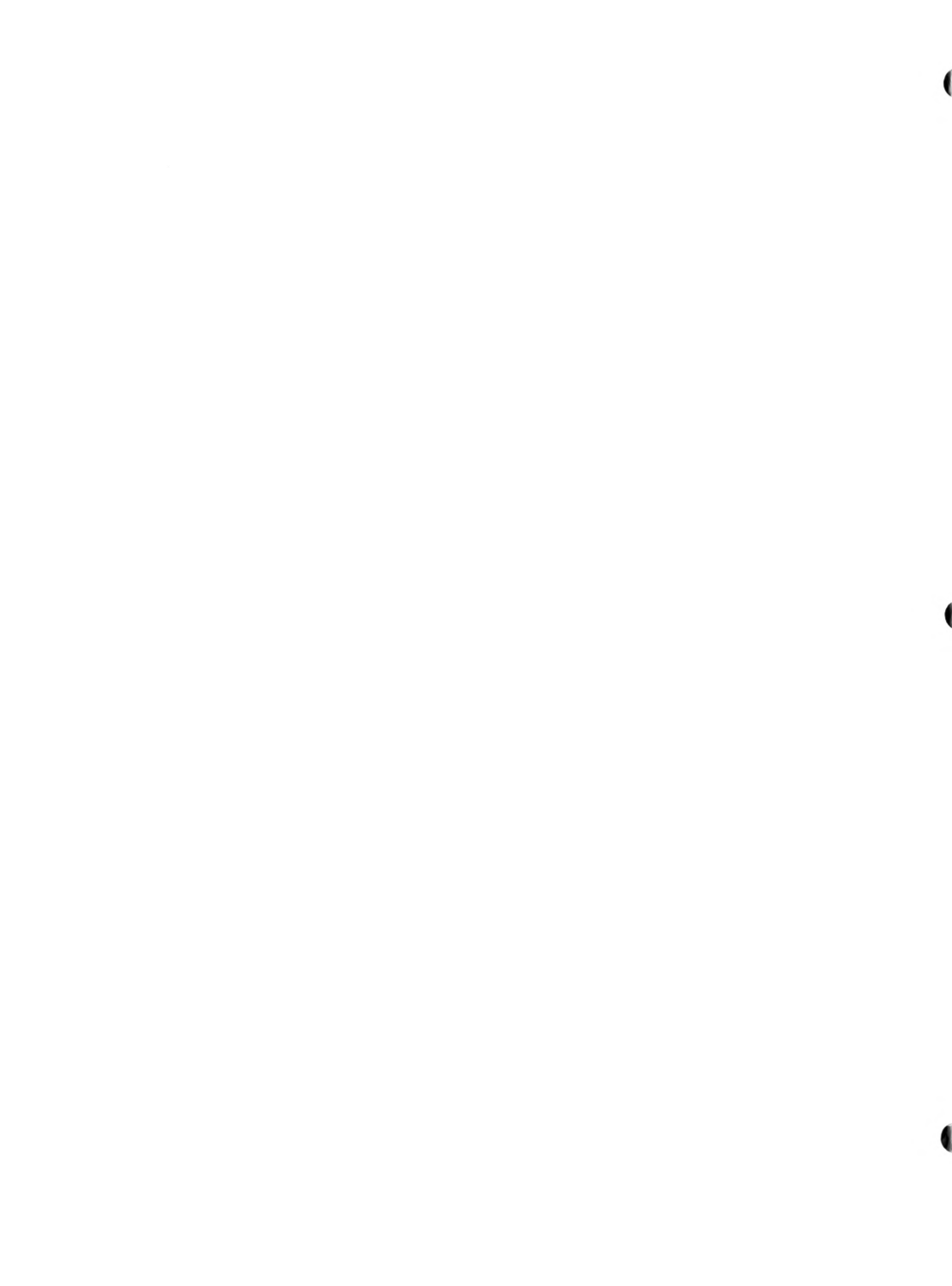
Sixty—six percent of the sophomores surveyed have parents that are married, four percent have separated parents and twenty—five percent come from homes where the parents divorced. Of these six families, four had both the mother and father remarry. Seventy— one percent of these students fear divorce, and twenty—nine percent do not have any fears related to this institution.

Again the number one occupation among mothers is a homemaker/housewife. The second most common career is as a teacher. Business is still the number one occupation among fathers. All of the parents involved in the divorces and separations have jobs outside of the home.

Group C—Junior Academic Class

Twenty—one Juniors were surveyed making up seventeen percent of the Class of 1991. Thirty—five percent of these juniors were born in 1968. Fifty—five percent were born in 1969, and ten percent were born in 1970.

Many juniors, forty—four percent have current significant partners in their lives. Eighty—two percent call their partner boyfriend, nine percent call their partner fiance. Nine percent refer to their partner in another way a beau. Only nine percent of the juniors surveyed are currently engaged. Forty—five percent hope to become engaged to their current boyfriend, forty percent within a



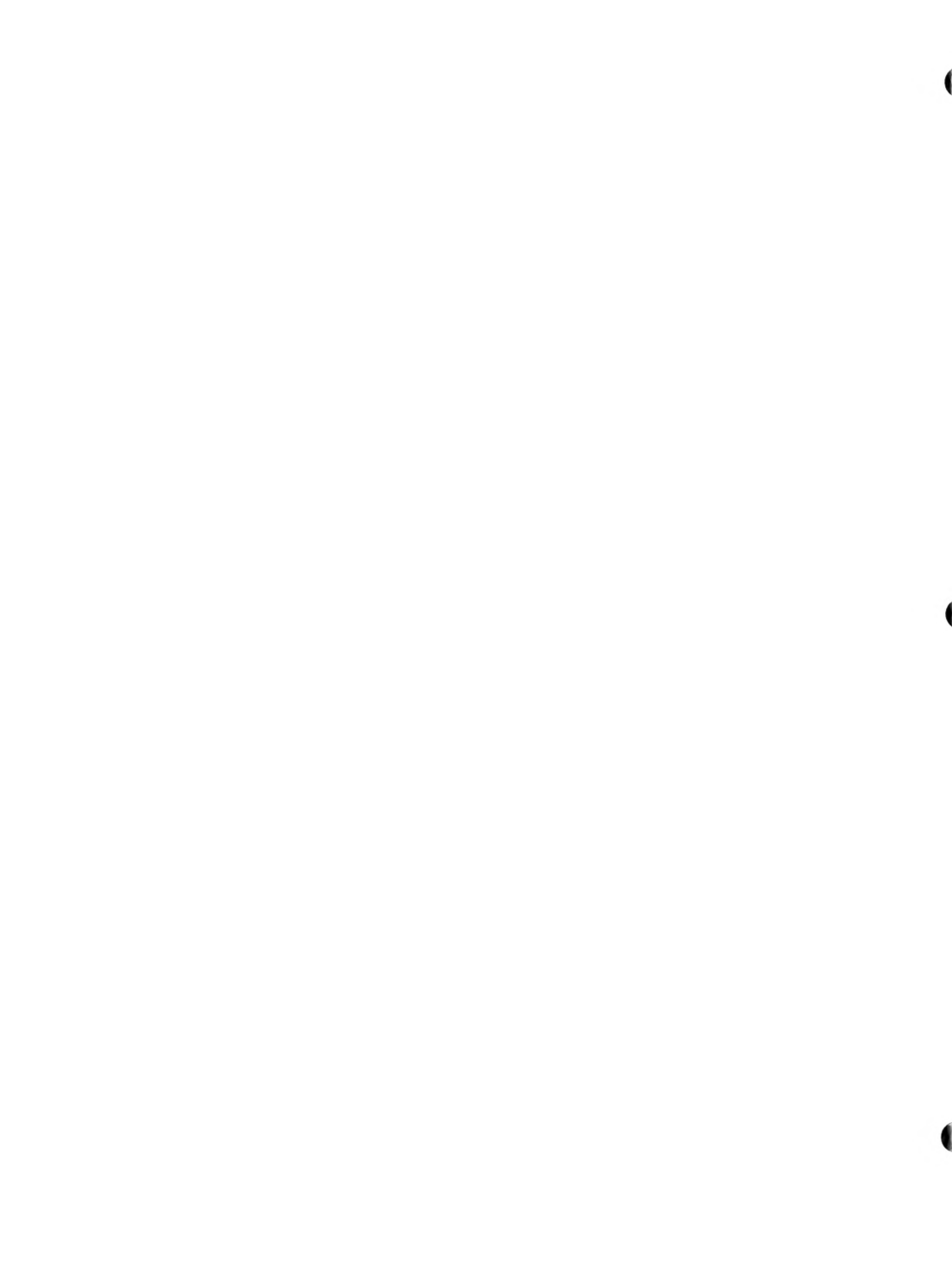
year. Twenty percent hope it will be in two years, and twenty percent within three years. The other twenty percent hope to become engaged in five to ten years. Of these juniors with current boyfriends or fiancé, twenty percent hope to marry within two years. Forty percent hope to marry within three years and the rest hope to marry in four or more years.

Juniors when asked to best describe their future plans gave the following answers: “date others after college, work for a few years, then marry”; “date many people non—seriously, then marry”; and “get married.”

Of the juniors with current boyfriends/fiancés only nine percent ever live together, and that’s only two days a week. Fifty five percent of the juniors surveyed are sexually active, all of whom practice birth control. Seventy—three percent use the pill, a shift from the condom use among the freshman and sophomore class. The condom ranks second at eighteen percent and the sponge and withdrawal method each have a usage rate of nine percent.

Ninety—five percent of the juniors want to have biological children, and four percent hope to adopt children. Fifty—five percent hope to have two or three children biologically. Only five percent want only one child. The other forty percent plan to have three or more children. The juniors who plan to adopt want only one child.

Seventy percent of the juniors surveyed have come from homes in which their parents are still married. Twenty—five percent of the juniors parents divorced and five percent were widowed. Eighty percent of the fathers have remarried and sixty percent of the



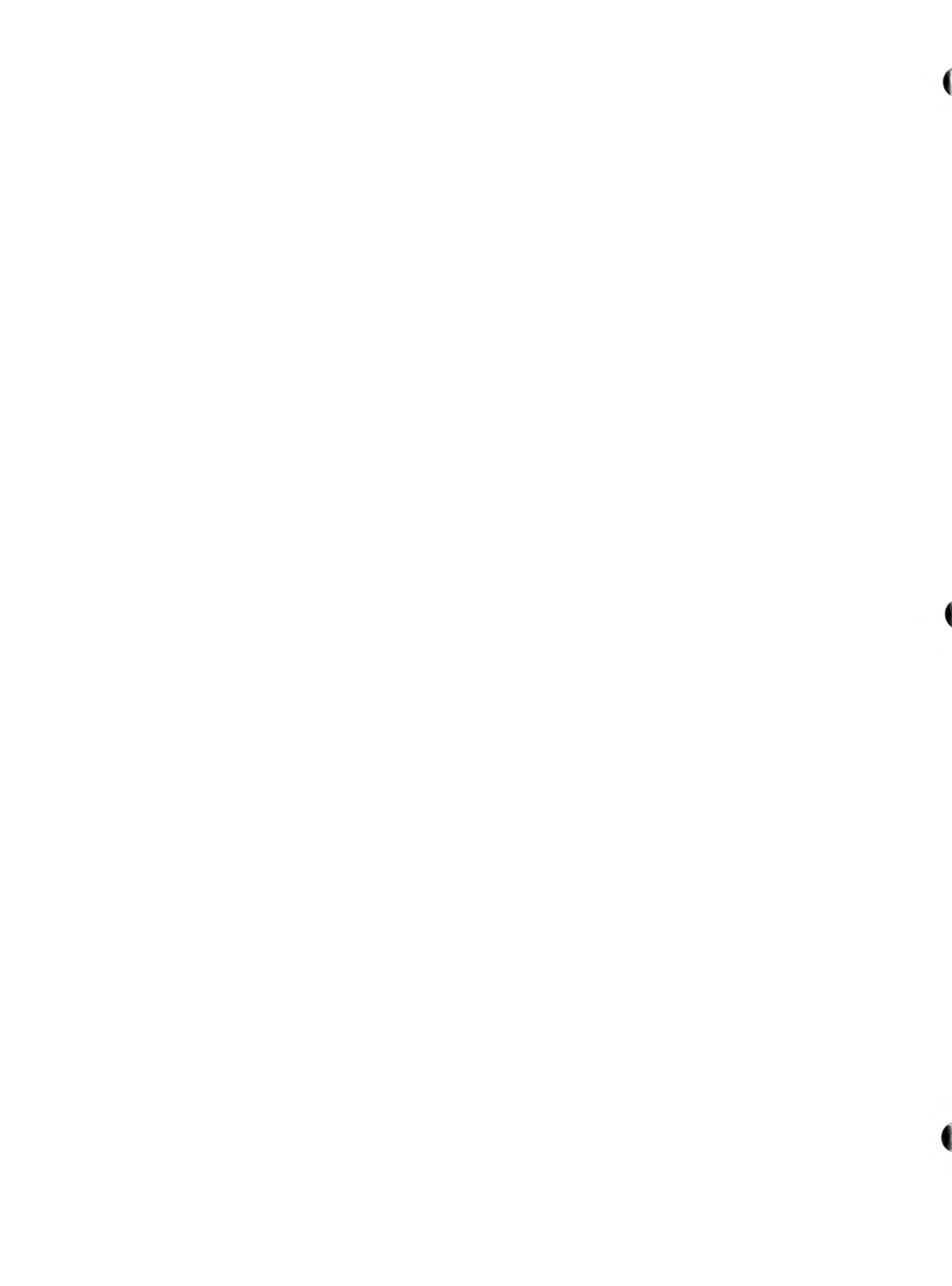
mothers have remarried. Of the juniors who came from broken homes only sixteen percent fear divorce.

Again the number one occupation among mothers is as a housewife/ homemaker, followed by business. Fathers were most often employed as businessmen, and secondly as lawyers.

Group D—Senior Academic Class

Twenty Seniors were surveyed making up seventeen percent of the class of 1990. Twenty percent were born in 1967, seventy percent were born in 1968 and ten percent were born in 1969.

Sixty percent of the seniors surveyed have a current significant partner. Eighty—three percent call this partner boyfriend and seventeen percent refer to their partner as fiance and are engaged to be married. Sixty—seven percent of seniors with boyfriend plan to become engaged to their current partner. Sixty—three percent hope this engagement will occur within one year. Thirty—seven percent plan to become engaged to their current boyfriend in two years. Fifty percent of the seniors with boyfriends/fiancés plan to get married within a year. Twenty—five percent plan to marry in two years , twenty—five percent plan to marry their current partner within three years and twelve percent plan to marry him in four to five years. Fifty—five percent of the senior surveyed who don't have current partners plan to get married. Nine percent hope to within a year, whereas, thirty—six percent think they will marry in three years, followed by eighteen percent planning to marry in four to five years and forty five percent who hope to marry in five to ten years.



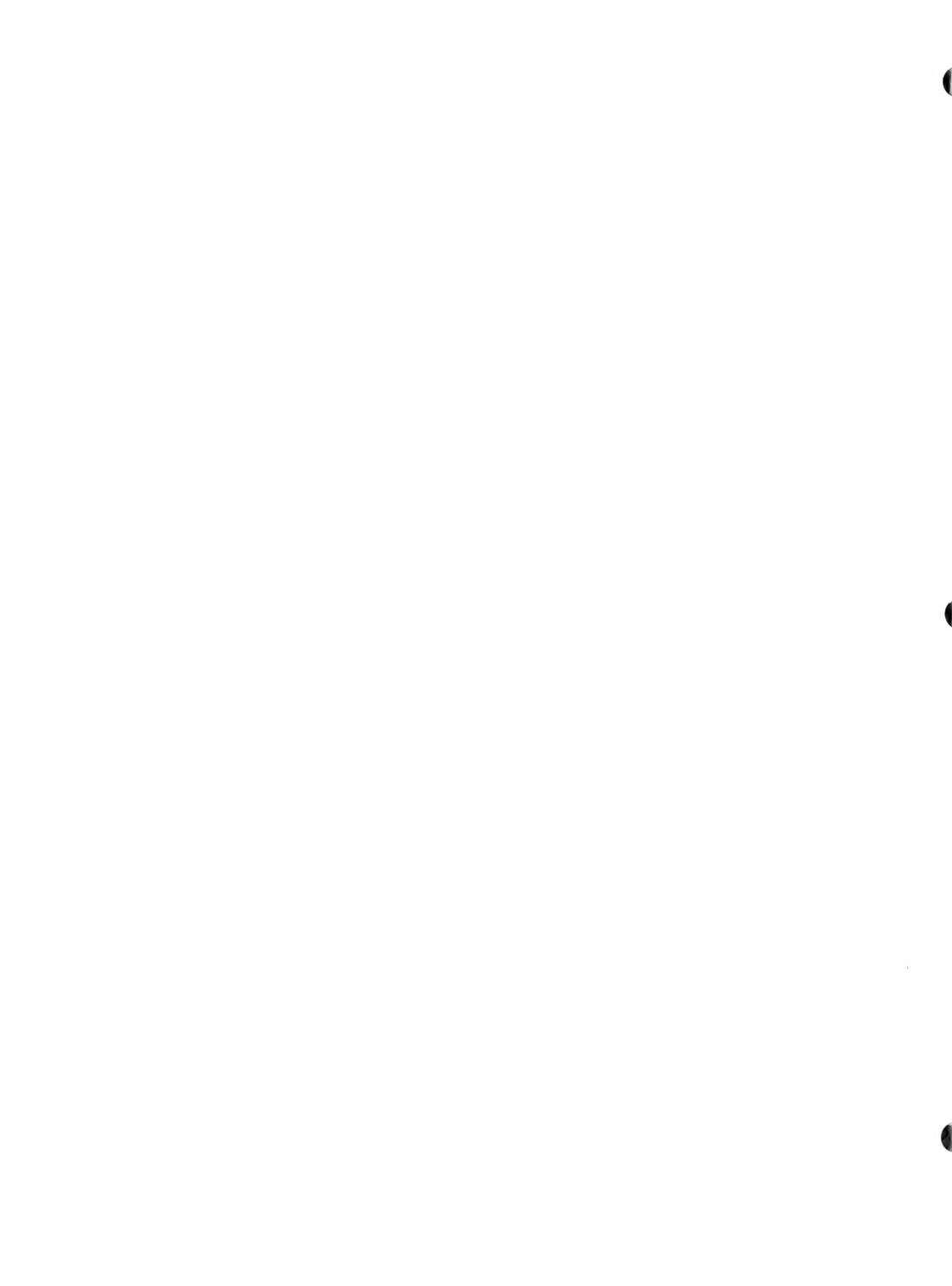
Seniors when asked to best describe their future plan hoped to: “marry current boyfriend”; “date many people, non—serious for five years, I’m too young”; “marry and build a family/home”; “marry, hopefully one person”; “marry in July”; “married (one person)”; “married to one person—live happily ever after, forever”.

Fifty—eight percent of the seniors with current partners cohabitate at least one day a week. Fourteen percent live together once a week, whereas, twenty—nine percent live together three days a week. However, fourteen percent live together five days a weeks, and forty—three percent have lived together (at some point) for entire weeks.

Eighty percent of the seniors surveyed are sexually active and one hundred percent practice birth control methods. Sixty—three percent of the seniors use the pill as their form of birth control, whereas, only thirty—one percent use condoms. Other methods each have a usage rate of six percent.

Ninety—five percent of the seniors hope to biological children and fifteen percent intend to adopt children. Ten percent want to have one or two children, thirty—two percent hope to have two, ten percent hope to have two or three, twenty—one percent hope to have three, and twenty—one percent hope to have four or more biological children. Of those who want to adopt children twenty—three percent don’t know how many they want to adopt, and sixty—six percent hope to adopt one or two children.

Eighty percent of the seniors surveyed have parents who are currently married. None of the seniors surveyed have separated



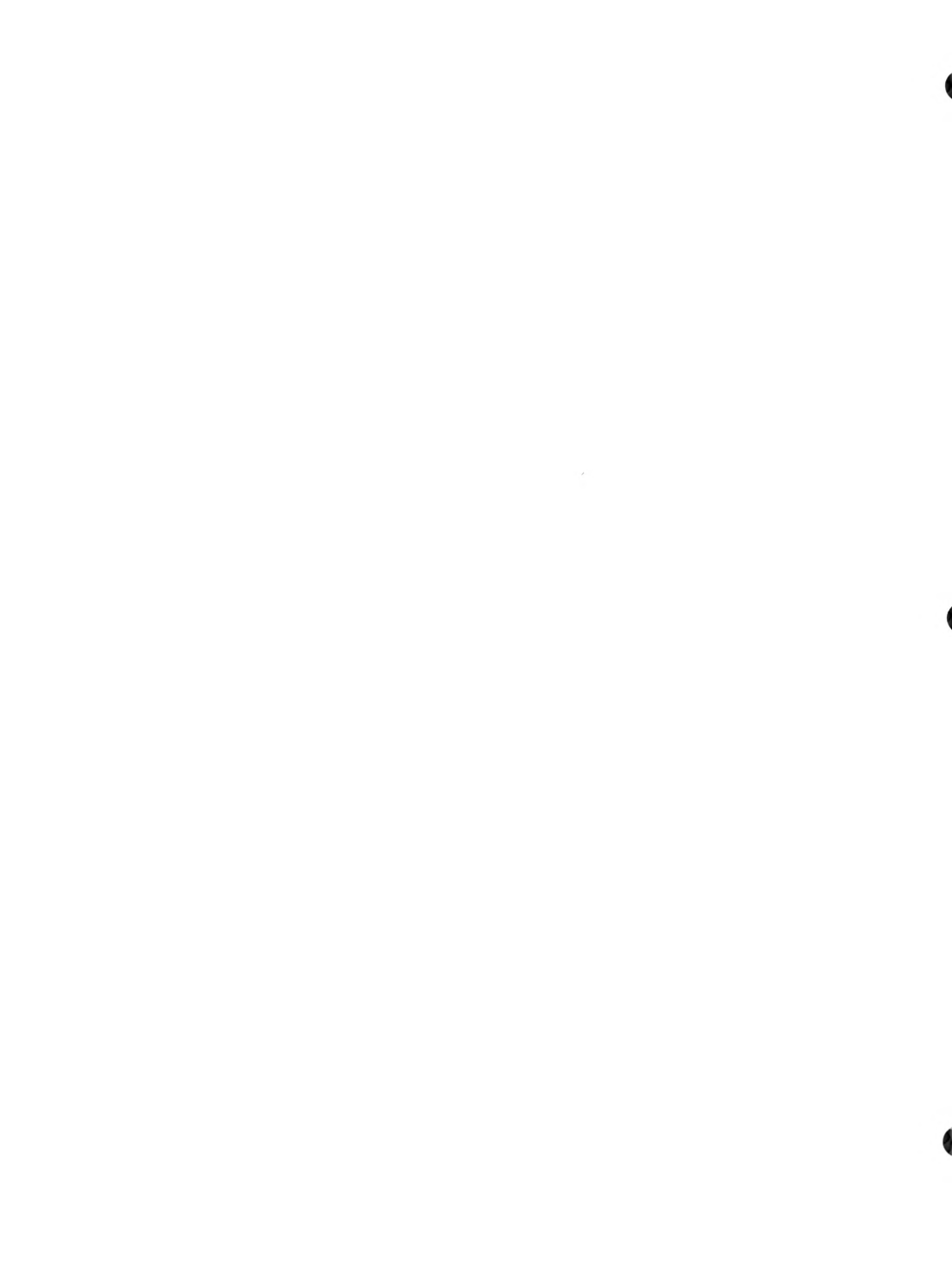
parents, however, fifteen percent have divorced parents. The other five percent of the seniors have a widowed parent. Of the students with divorced parents sixty—six percent fear divorce. Sixty—six percent of these parents(both the mother and the father) remarried; corresponding with the students who fear divorce.

The number one occupation among these senior's mothers is as a housewife. The second and third ranked occupations are: teaching and sales. The number one occupation among the senior's fathers is in business, the second ranked occupation is as an engineer. The third ranked occupation is being retired.

Comparisons

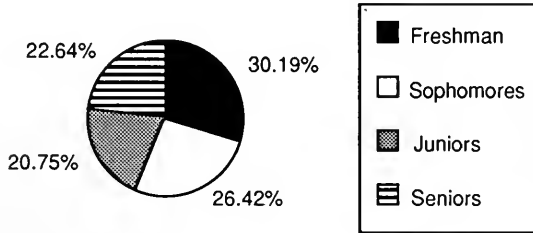
In my comparison of my research to the current research literature I hope to provide a new insight into the trends for changes in the institutions of marriage and the family among college women of upper—middle to upper class incomes attending a small, private four year women's college in Virginia.

Over fifty percent of the college women surveyed had significant partners (see graph VI,p.38), however, this number decreases as student age and academic class increase. One possible reason for this decrease is that women are concentrating on their careers, in this case—college academics, and are spending less time on personal relationships. This hypothesis is supported by Schwartz's theory that women have developed a sense of independence and a desire to excel in work, whether or not there is a man in their life at the time.



GRAPH VI

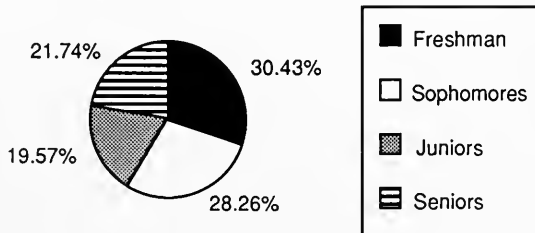
Students Who Have A Significant Partner In Their Lives



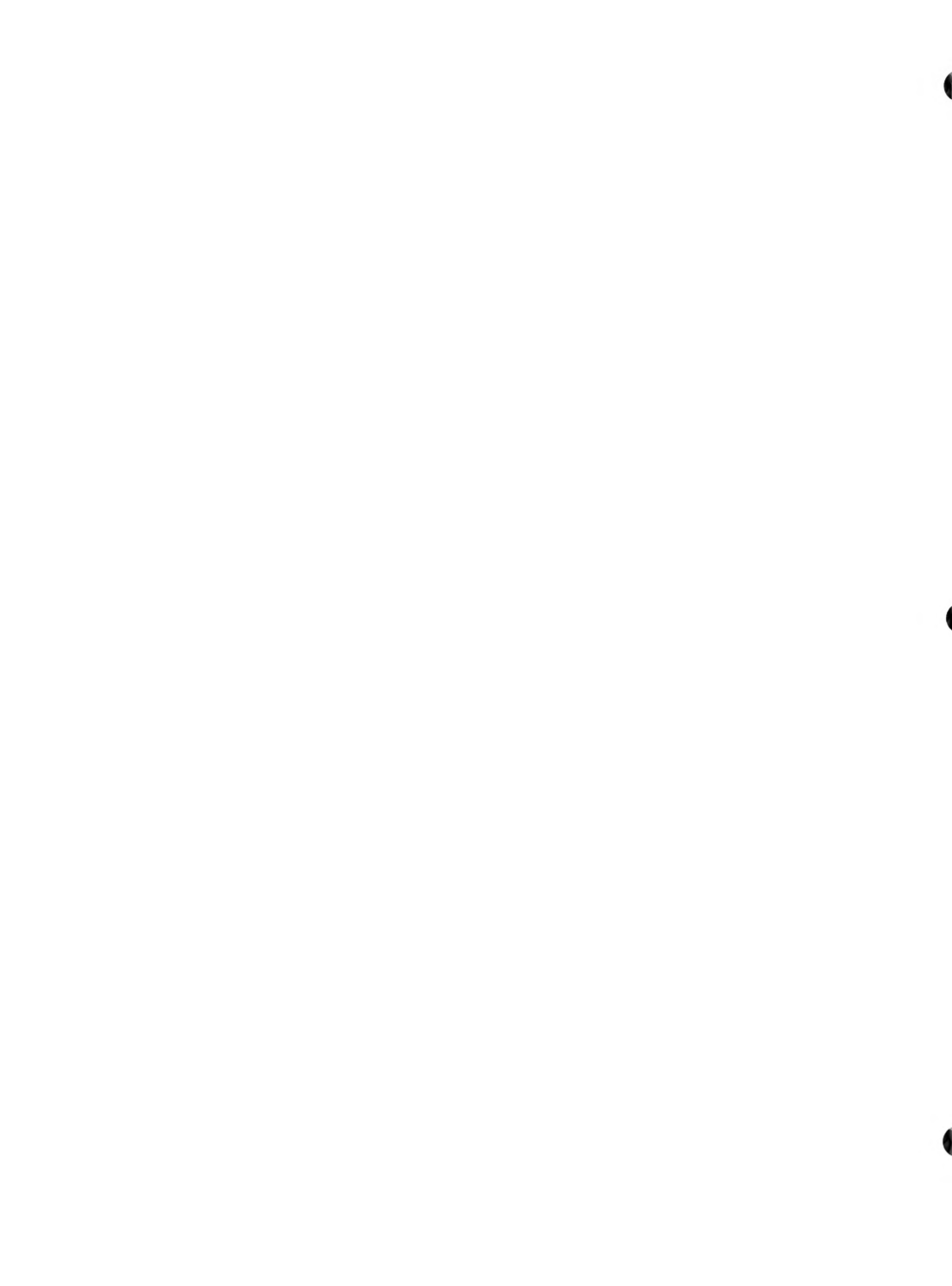
These students with significant partners refer to them in a variety of ways such as: "boyfriend", "fiancé", and "beau". However, based on the data the most common reference to one's partner is as "boyfriend" (See graph VII).

GRAPH VII

Students Who Have A Boyfriend

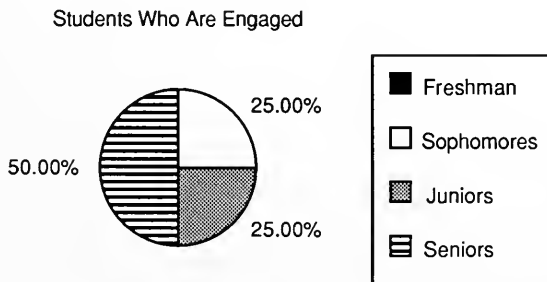


A few of the students surveyed are engaged to their current partners. (See graph VIII,p.39) The number of these engagements

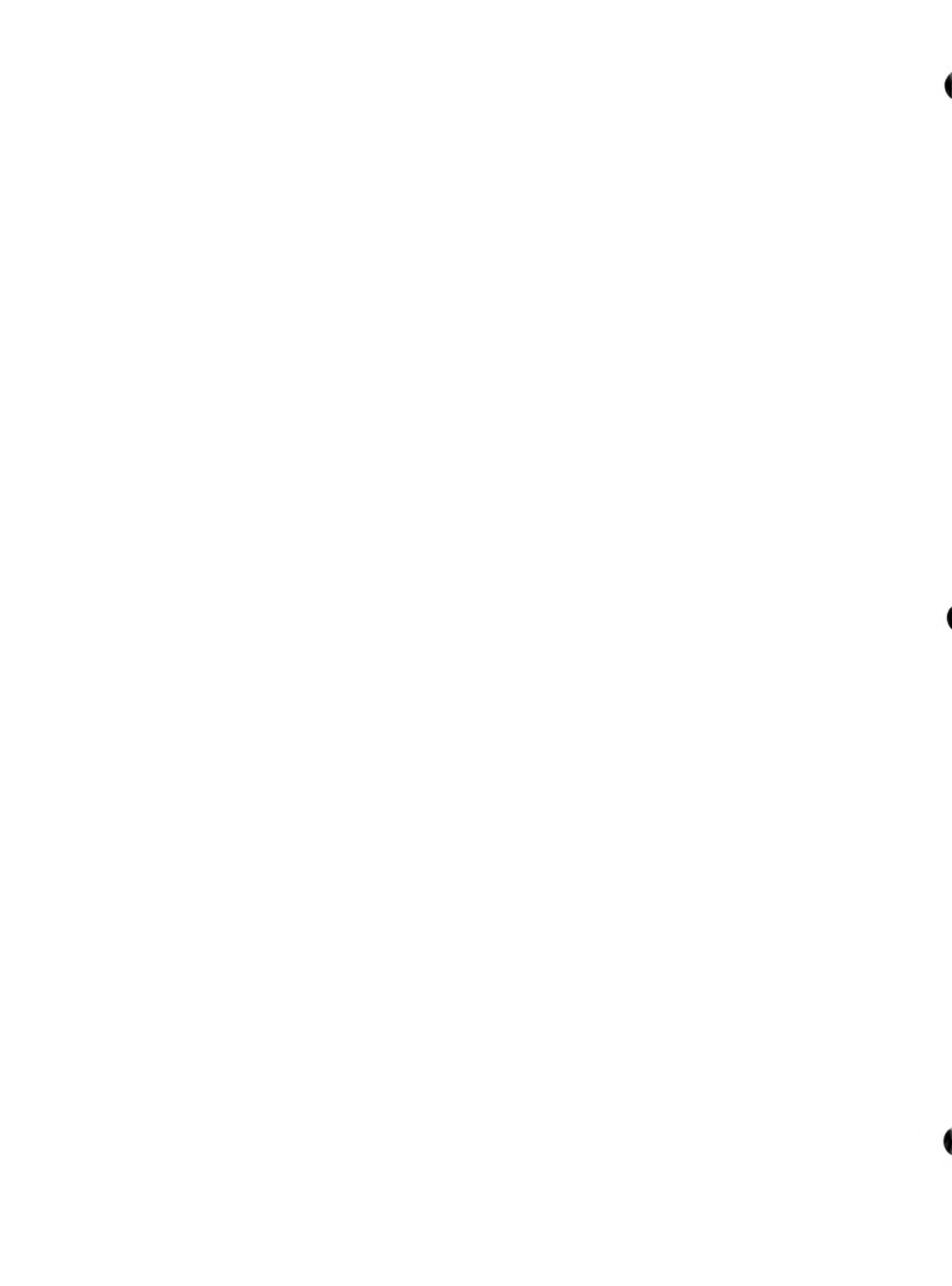


increases as academic class level increases. Only two seniors surveyed were engaged at the time of this study, but there is still a 25% increase from the sophomore and junior class's and a 50% increase from the freshman class. There are several possible reasons for lack of engagements among the students, once a fervored tradition in the "ring game ceremony". One reason supported by Cherlin's hypothesis is that young adults are not marrying as quickly as they have been in previous years. Getting married immediately after graduation, once a symbol of success for many college women, is no longer the goal. (ibid)

GRAPH VIII

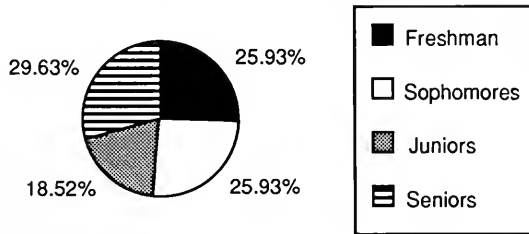


However, many of the students who are not currently engaged hope to become engaged to their current "boyfriends" before the end of their college years. (See Graph IX,p.40) If these students do become engaged they will be following in the patterns of their mothers, not their cohorts, according to Cherlin.



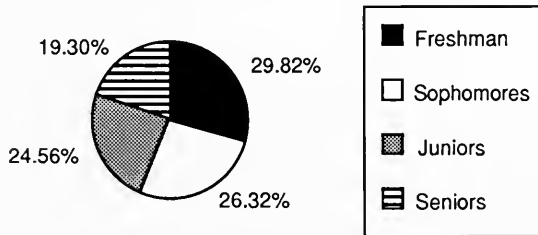
GRAPH IX

Plan To Get Engaged To Current Partner

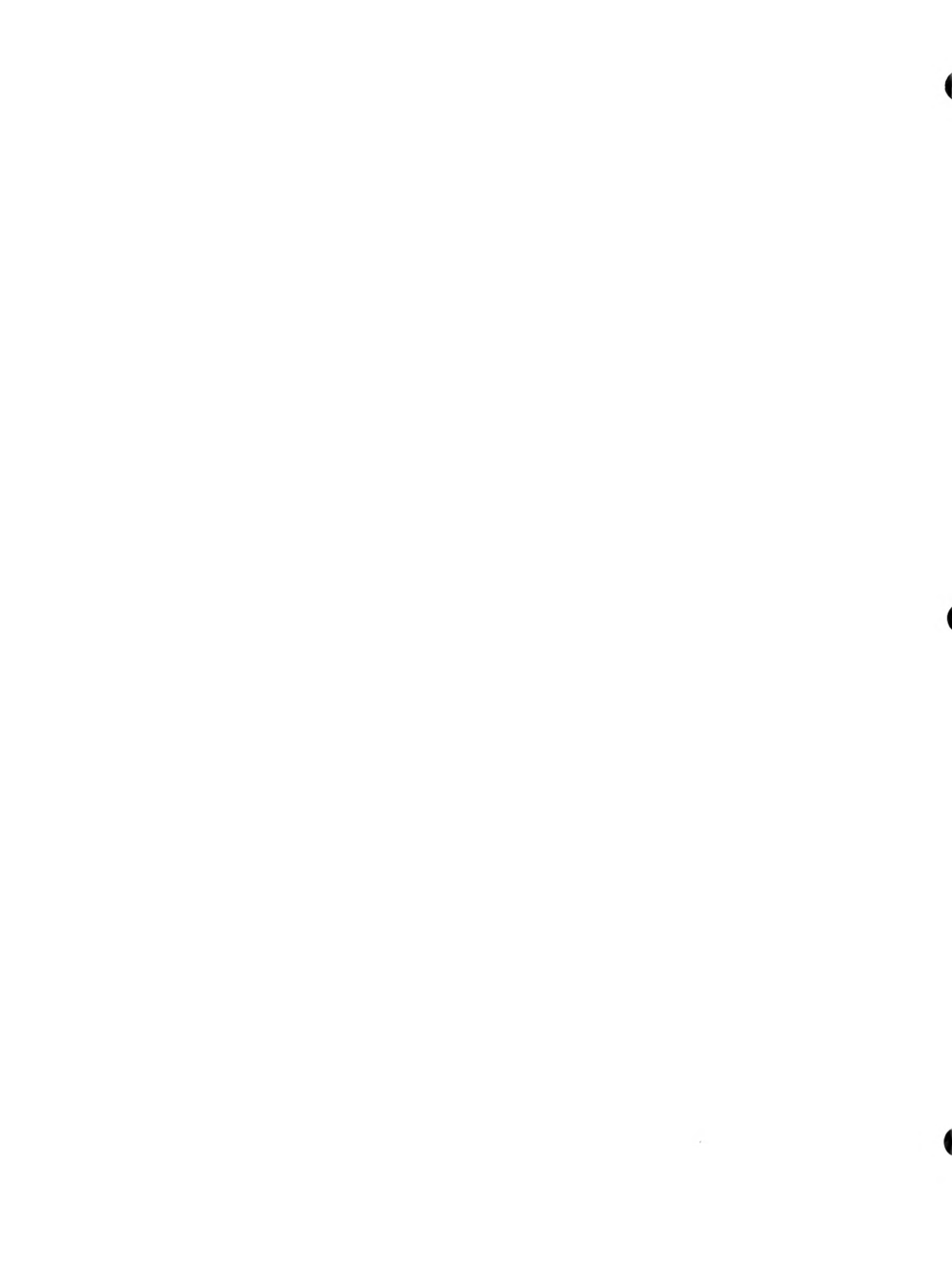


GRAPH X

Plan To Get Married In The Future



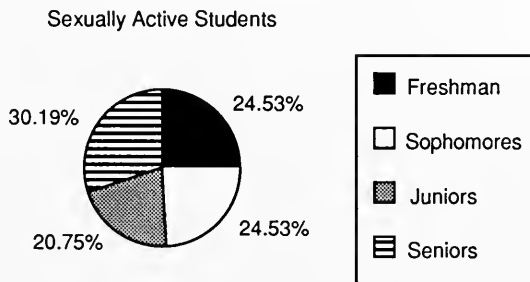
Many of the students surveyed hope to get married in the future. (See graph X, above) Again however, when compared by academic class there is a decrease as the students move toward graduation. Another reason for the decline in the plans for marriage among college women could be related to changes in the economy. Bumpass and Sweet support this hypothesis noting that marriage no longer



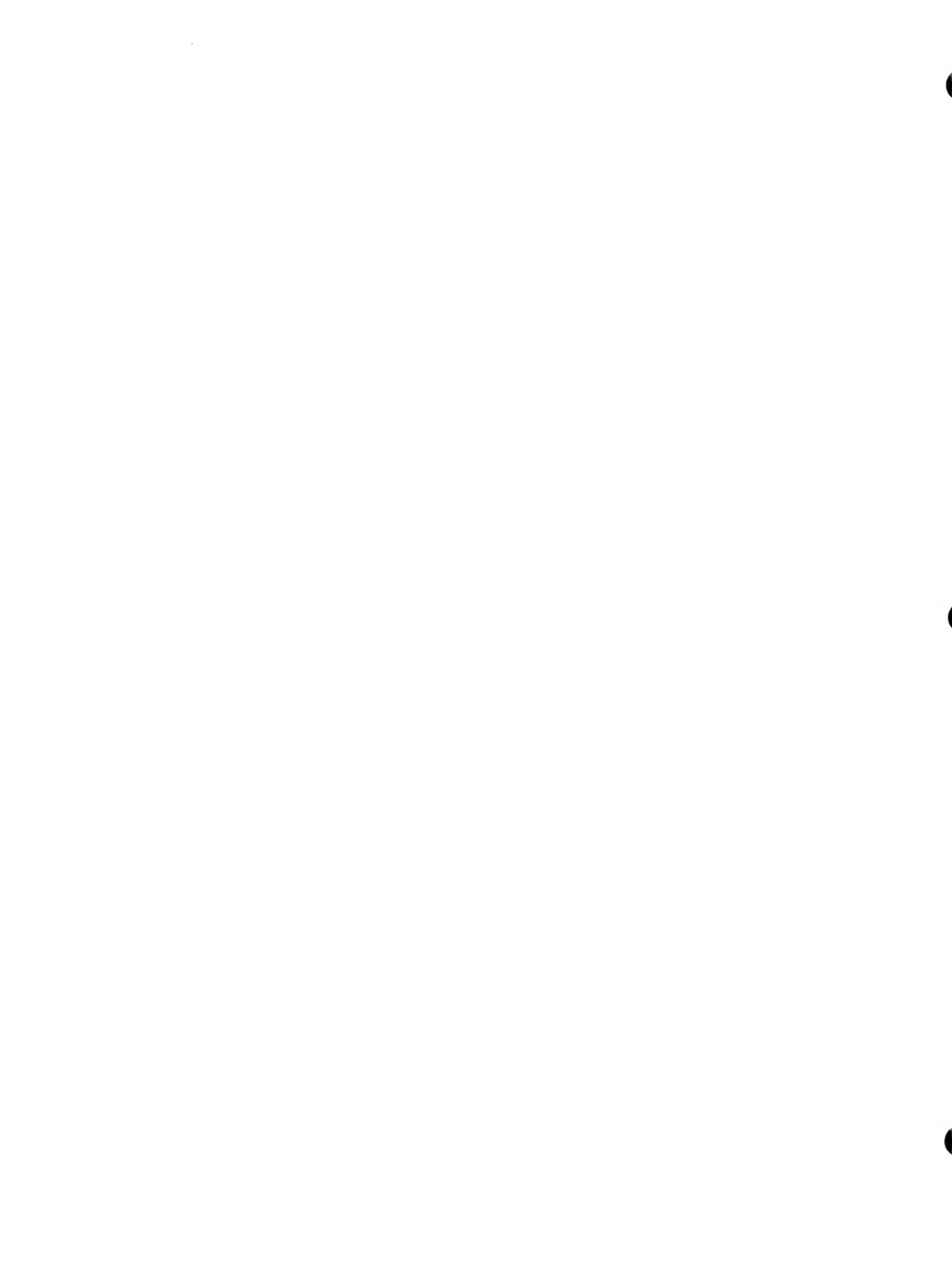
offers women the economic security it once did.

Several of the students surveyed report that they are sexually active. (See graph XI,p.41) Among the seniors this percentage is higher than the percentage of students who have a significant partner. This suggests that sexual activity occurs without relationship commitments. In general this data shows support for the work of Darling, Kallen, and VanDusin (1984) who reported that there has been an increase of premarital sexual activity in the United States. Skolnick and Skolnick also suggest an increase in sexual activity, noting that the similarity of motives and meanings allows premarital intercourse to be defined as “normal”, not deviant behavior as it was in the past.

GRAPH XI



All of the sexually active students practice some method of birth control. (See graph XII,p.42) The pill is favored among the upperclassmen, whereas, the condom and non prescription methods are preferred by the underclassmen. A reason for this could be that the level of commitment in the sexual relationship increases for

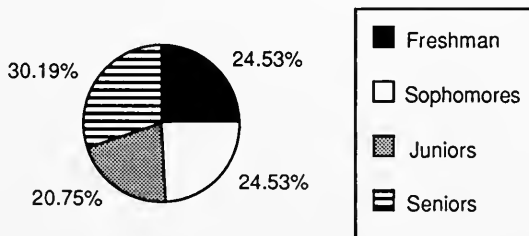


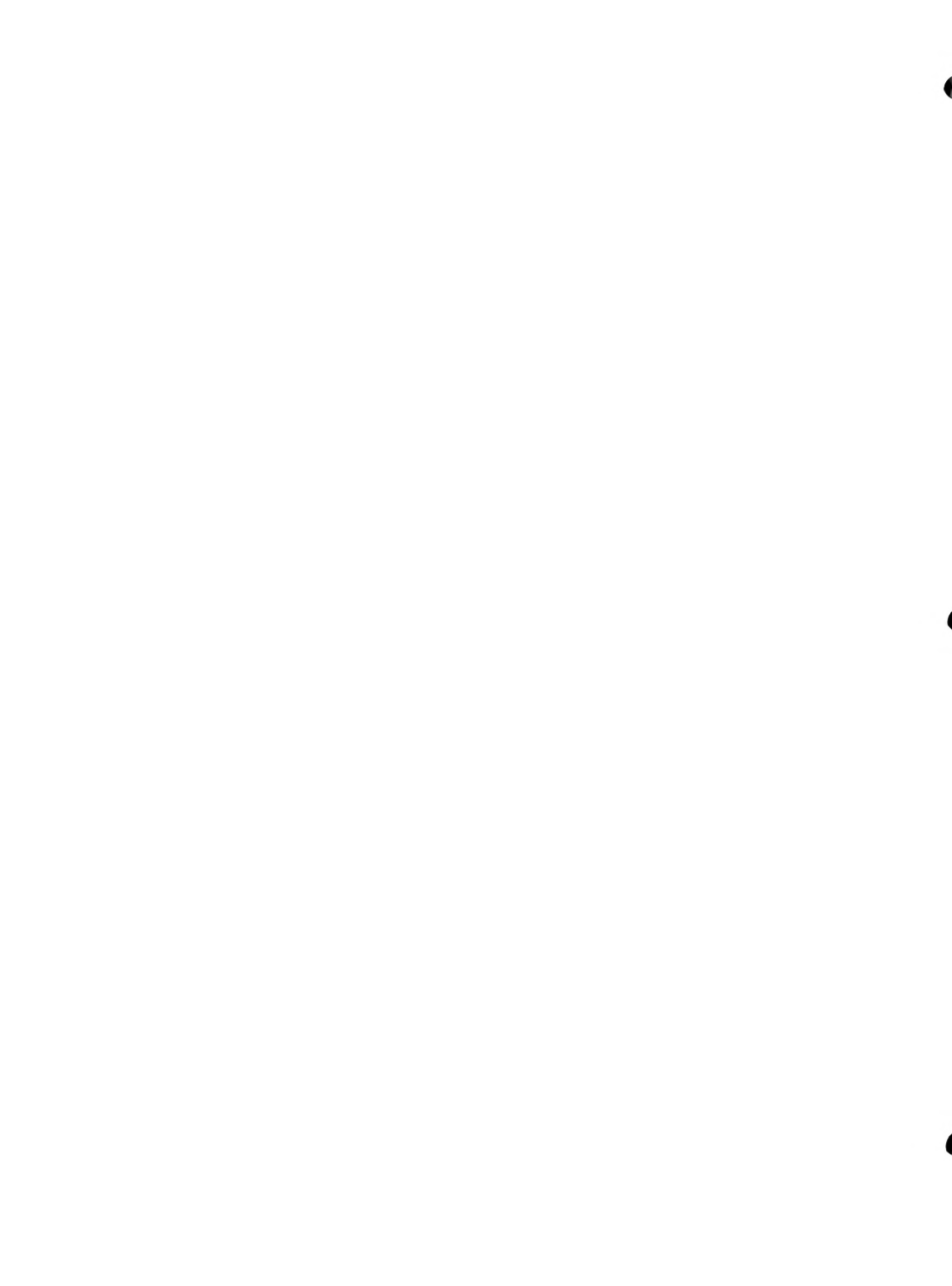
upperclassmen. These findings are also supported by the findings of Darling, Kallen, and VanDusin (1984). In addition my findings support the work of Skolnick and Skolnick.

These students are also participating in changes in the marital structure of the United States by cohabiting with their partners outside of marriage. (See graph XIII:p.43) The percentage of this cohabitation was higher among the senior class than among the underclassmen. This might suggest that the relationship commitment level increases with age, even though the relationship may never include plans for marriage. Spanier (1989) found that the United States is experiencing a trend of upward growth in unmarried cohabitation. Skolnick and Skolnick believe that society is now more willing to consider unmarried cohabitation an acceptable living arrangement. While most of the students surveyed stated they "live together" only on weekends, this arrangement alone shows that society is changing its view of premarital sex and cohabitation.

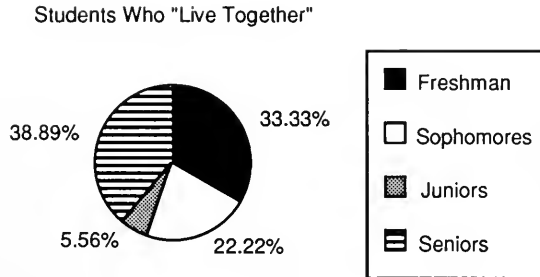
GRAPH XII

Sexually Active Students Who Always Practice Birth Control



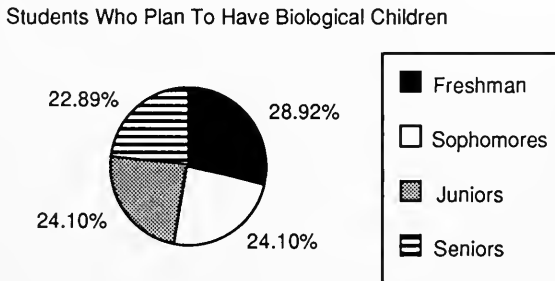


GRAPH XIII

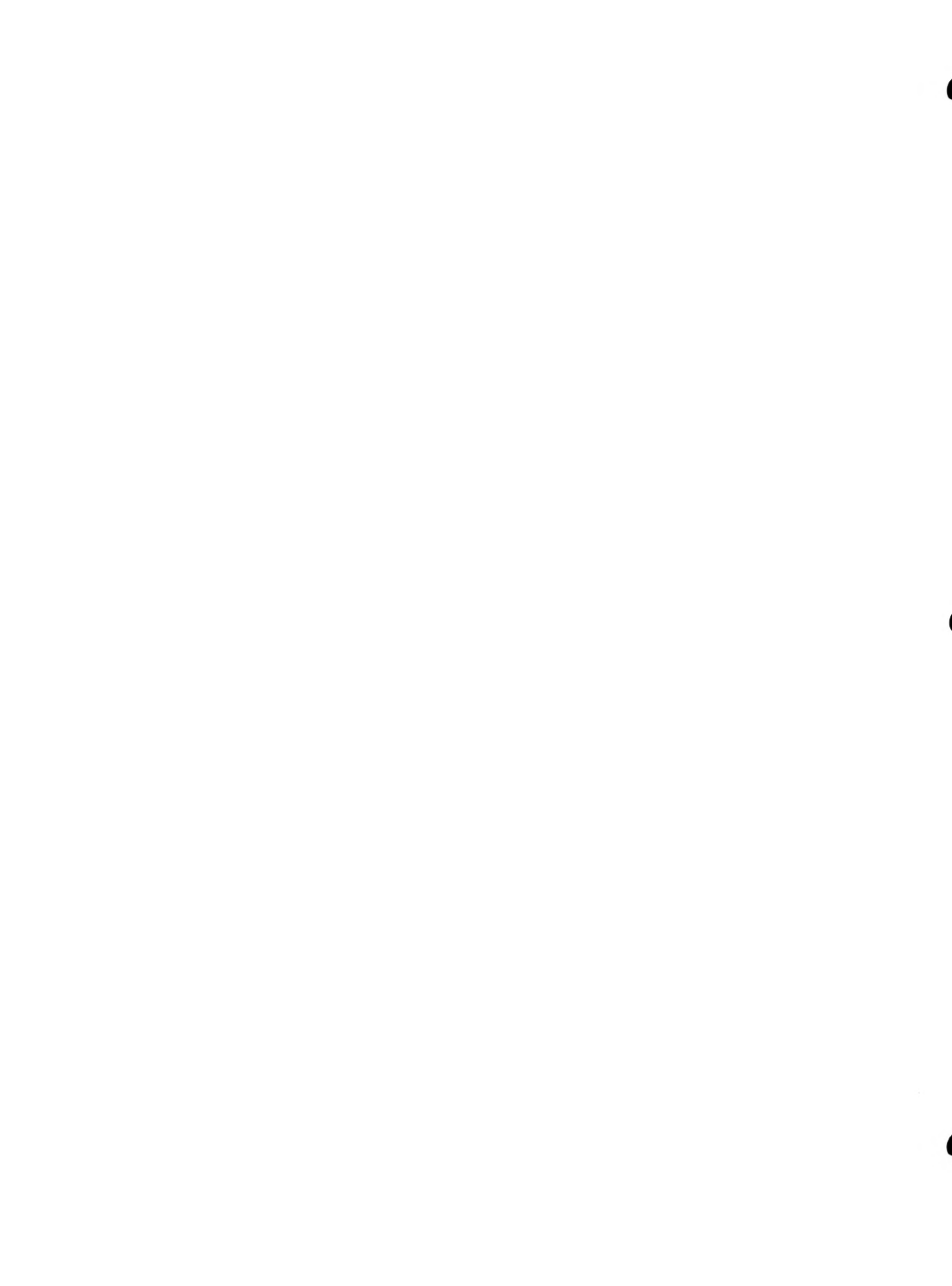


Of the 92 students surveyed, most hope to have biological families in the future, although a few intend to adopt children. (See graphs XIV and XV, p.44)

GRAPH XIV



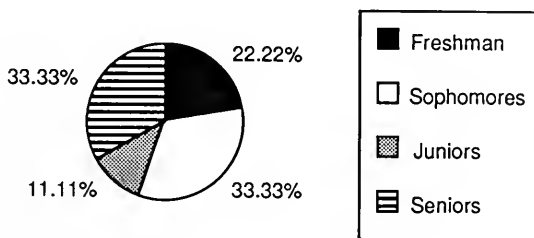
Either way these students are upholding the traditional institution of the family. This supports the finding by Westoff (1989) that 50% of young American women will choose to have either one child



or none at all, that is where my research contracts his work. Most of the students in my study who are planning to have biological children hope to have two or more, not just one or none.

GRAPH XV

Students Who Plan to Adopt Children



Conclusion

It is clear from the review of the literature that the institutions of marriage, family, and work are inter-related. A change in one institution brings about a change among all. In terms of my own data, only a few conclusions are called for, given the type of sampling utilized. However, I did arrive at a number of tentative conclusions based on the review of the literature in Part II and my own data.

When I began the review of literature last fall, I was not surprised to find a change in the extent of premarital sexual behavior of college women today compared with an earlier generation. The Skolnicks had noted in 1989 that the system of courtship today has changed to a new pattern of couple relationships that are less permanent, more flexible, and more experimental.

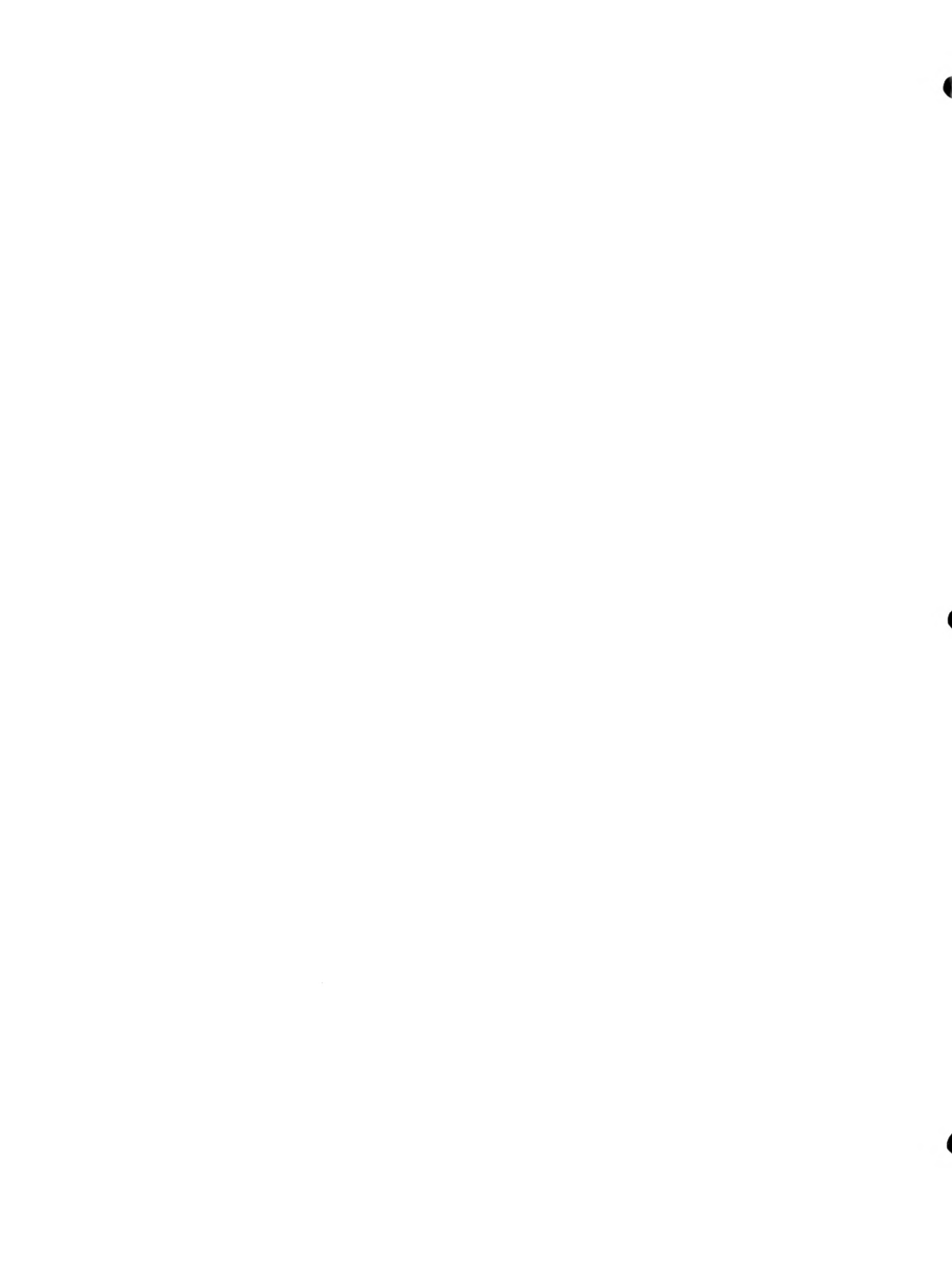
In fact, recent literature suggested that premarital sexual



intercourse had become the norm. However, I was surprised to find that so few seniors in the sample reported significant partners although sexual activity itself was fairly prevalent. I concluded that was due to several reasons. The term "significant" may not have been understood. Yet sexual activity in the absence of "significance" did occur. In fact, it occurred fairly evenly across classes. From my own observations, I attribute the level of sexual involvement among the students to several reasons. First is the single sex status of the college. This combined with the rural environment leads to an exodus from the college on week-ends. Moreover, dating is usually an overnight affair because of the distances students must travel, and the fact that drinking often occurs at the male college fraternities, making it unwise to drive after such a party. The stage is thus set for the student to remain overnight. More than these factors is the current view of premarital sexual activity. According to the literature, society no longer views this as "deviant", and neither do the students.

Cohabitation in 1989 has been called a "dramatic change" (Spanier above); some researchers reported that nearly half of today's couples lived together before their first marriage. However, questions designed to learn more about the future plans for cohabitation among seniors in my sample failed to provide data. This may have been not only because this is a difficult question, but one that was not easy to answer in the fall of the senior year.

The small number of students in the sample who are engaged also intrigued me. It seems to show that the rush for marriage immediately after college is a thing of the past, and that the college

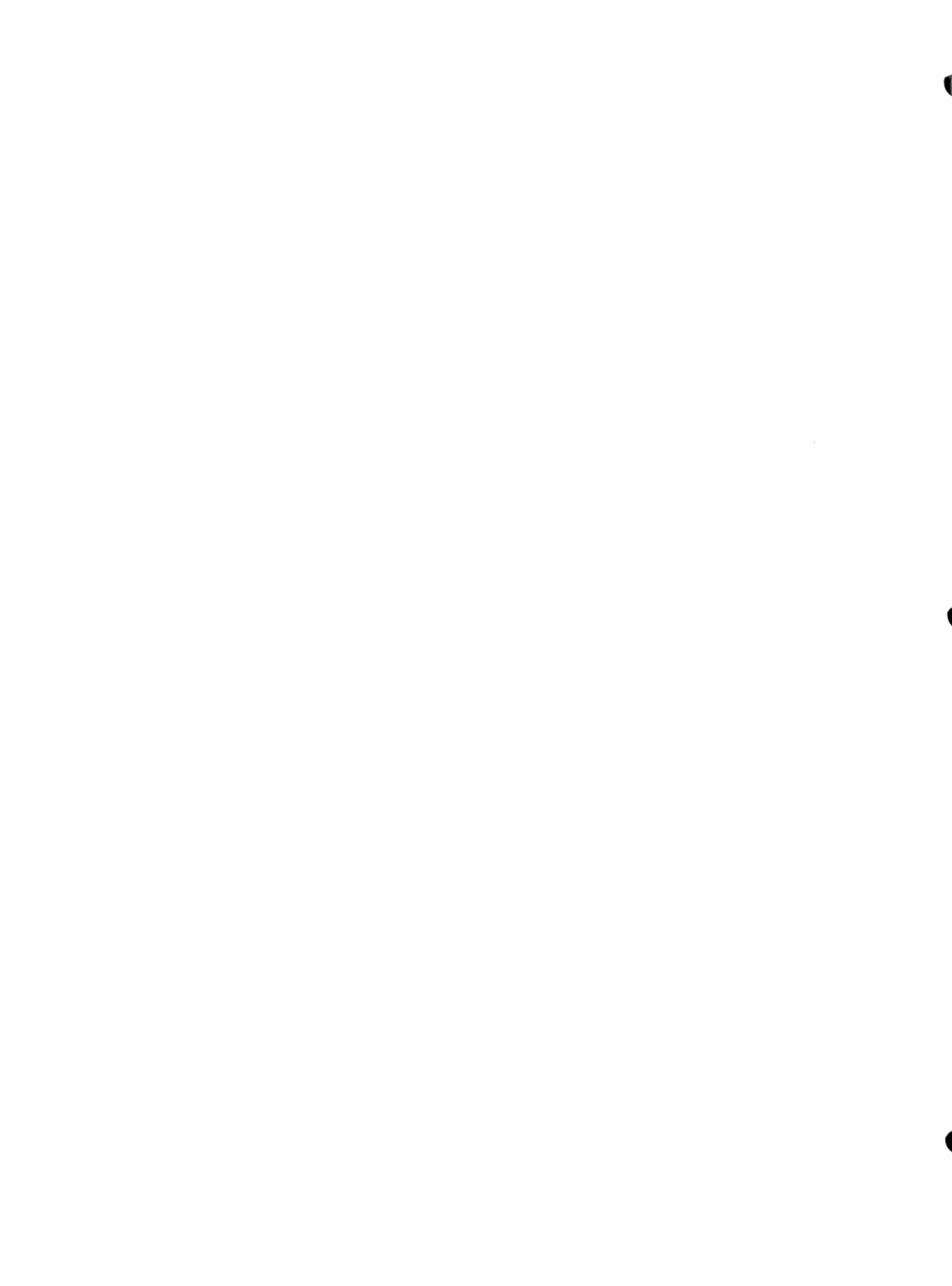


women in this sample are no longer seeking to obtain the MRS. degree their mothers did. This is not to say that the college women are denouncing marriage altogether, but simply that they are waiting longer to marry, and are weighing alternatives such as premarital sex and cohabitation in order to insure that they get a good start on a career. Sixty-seven percent of the seniors are planning to begin a career after graduation as opposed to getting married right away. (survey above)

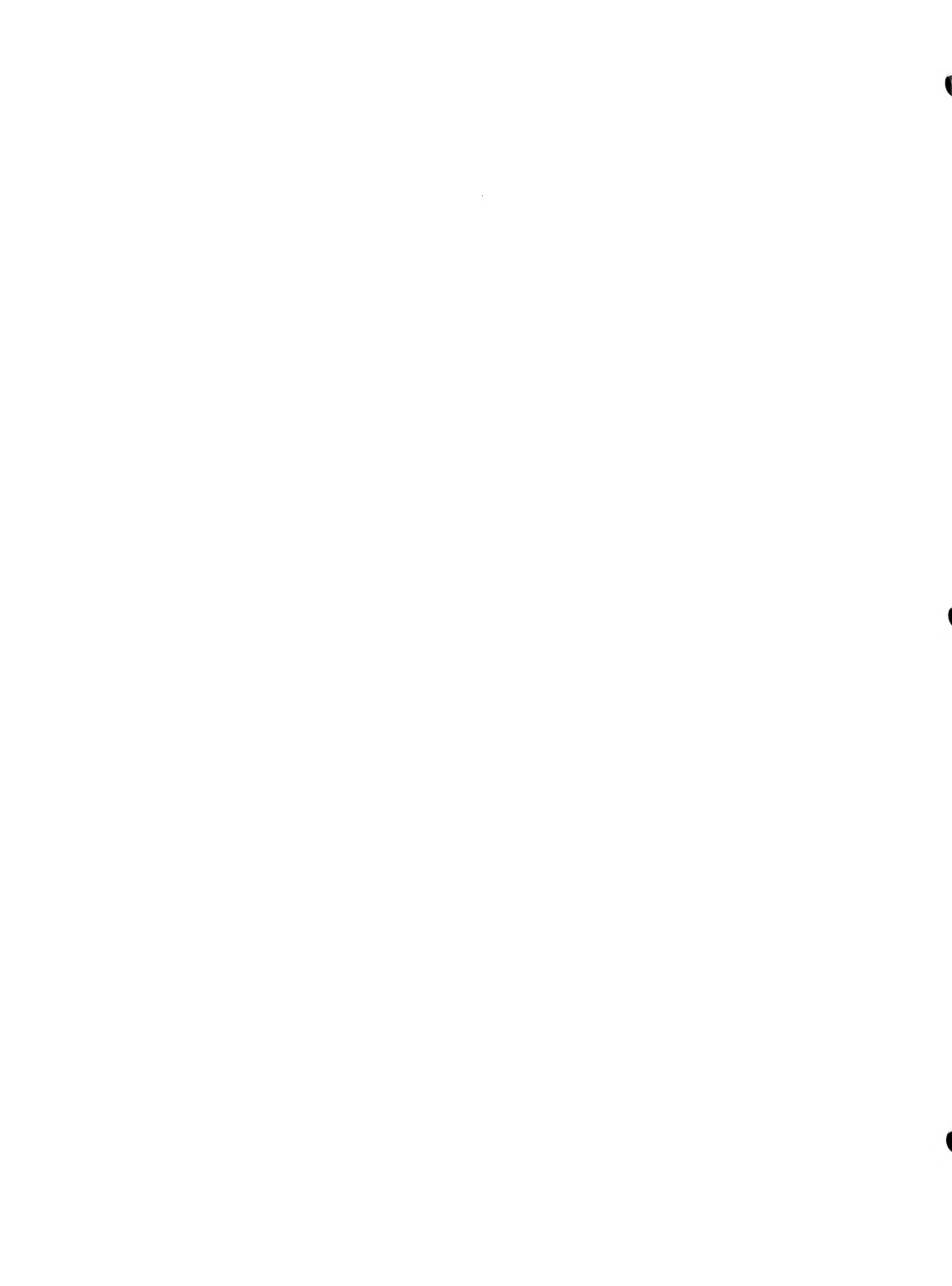
In terms of my expectations that a divorce in their own family would create a fear of marriage in the student's mind, this appeared to be unfounded. In addition, despite the reports such as Bumpass's (1989) which predicted that two-thirds of all marriages would end in divorce, it was surprising to find that over 66 percent of the students's parents were still married: 80 percent of the freshmen, 66 percent of the sophomores, 70 percent of the juniors and 80 percent of the seniors.

In terms of having a family, the expectation for children is still high among the women in my sample. Only a small percent indicated that they never planned to have children, and some are even planning to adopt children.

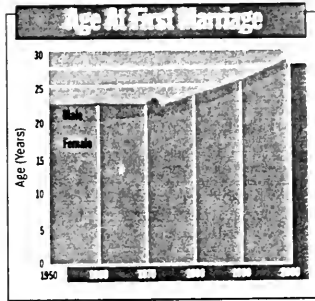
In conclusion, I can tentatively say that for my sample: premarital sexual activity and cohabitation are the norm, as they are for society as a whole; expectations for careers are high; and students are postponing marriage until later in life. However, the institutions of marriage, family, and careers are still alive and well, even if they are being "placed on hold" for a little while among this group of women. The amount of time these women are setting aside for each of these



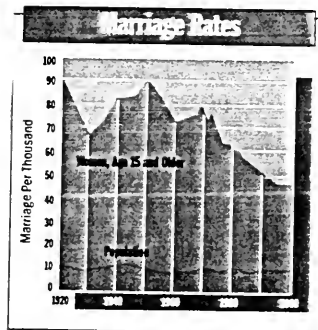
institutions is changing, just as it is changing among society as a whole. Future research will be necessary to determine the consequences of such changes in the institutions of marriage, the family, and work as society enters the twenty—first century.

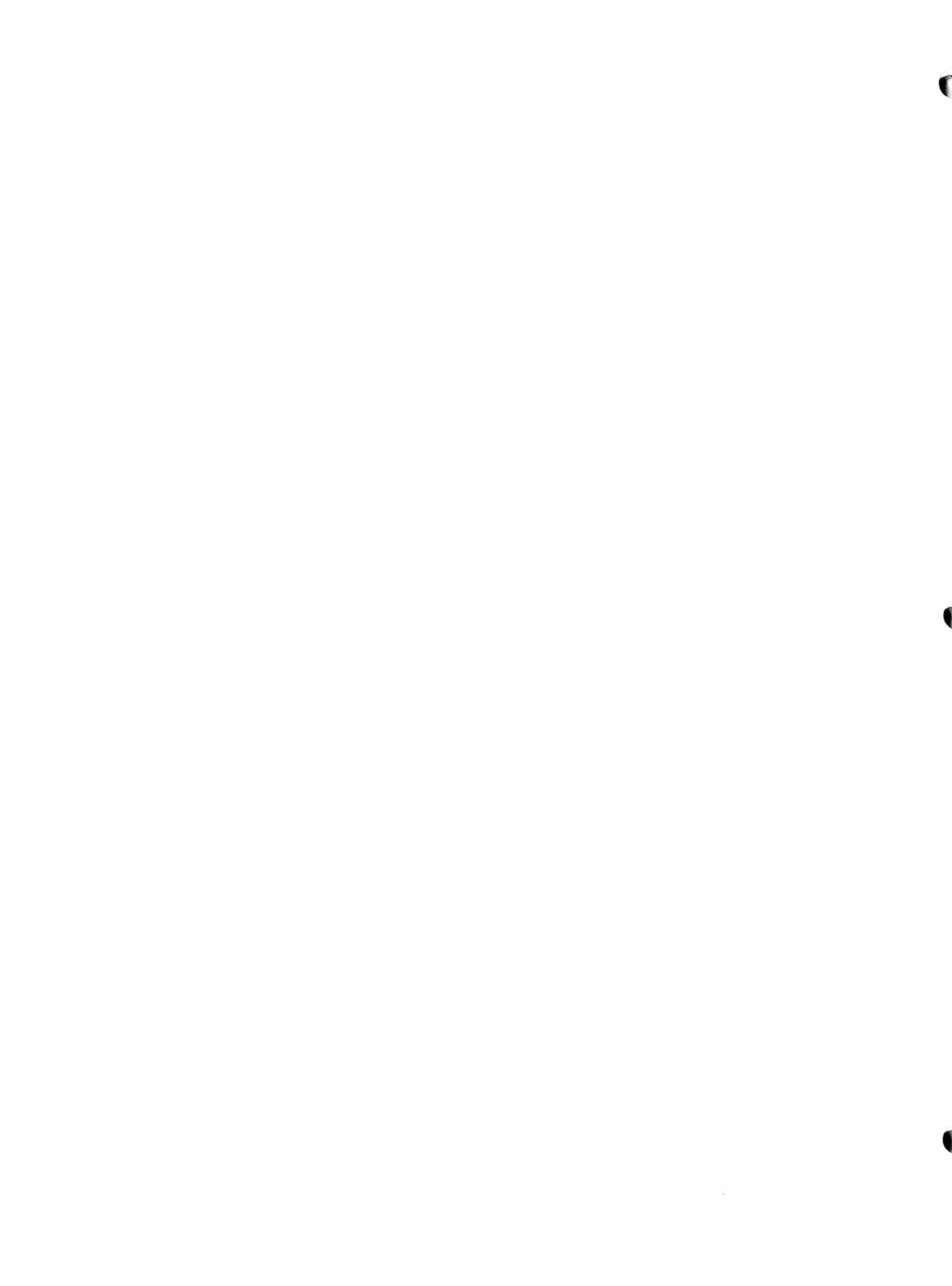


GRAPH I



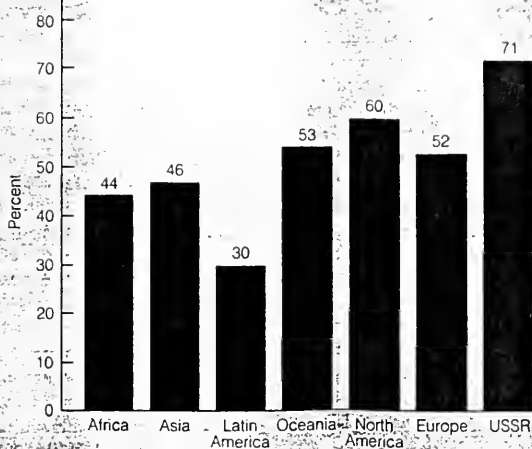
GRAPH II





GRAPH III

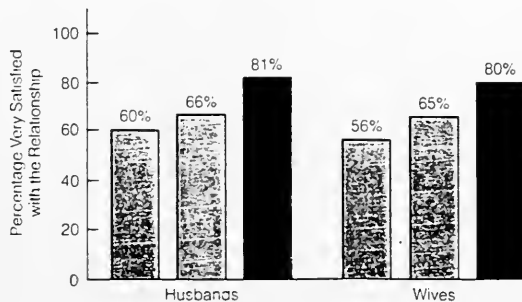
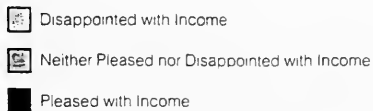
Percentages of Women in International Labor Force (ages 15 to 64)



Source: Mary Medeiros Kent, Carl Haub, and Keiko Osaki, "The World's Women: A Profile," Population Reference Bureau, 1985.

GRAPH IV

Disappointment with Couple Income and Satisfaction with the Relationship



Source: Blumstein and Schwartz, 1983

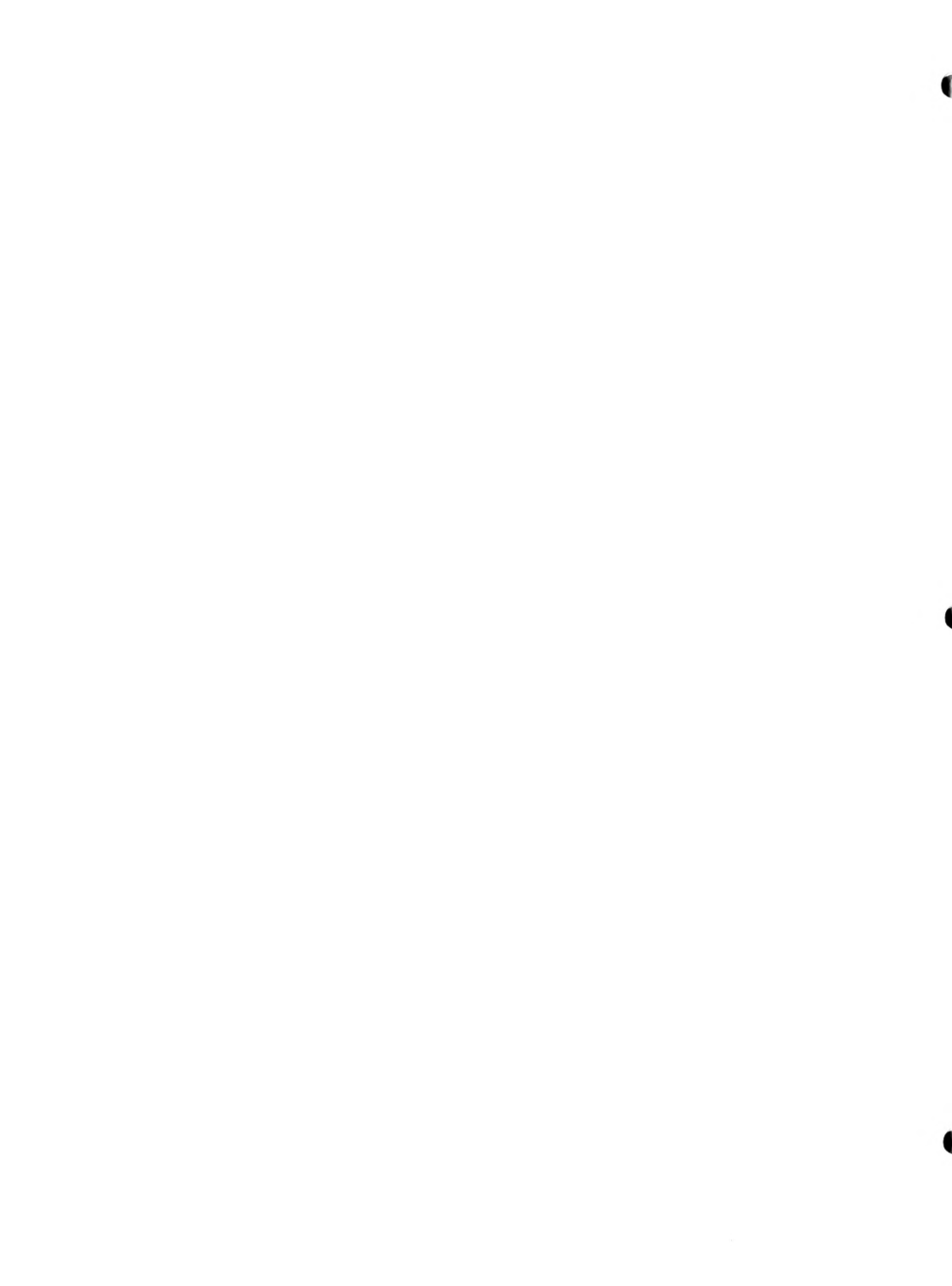


TABLE I

Households with Two Unrelated Adults of Opposite Sex Sharing Living Quarters, by Presence of Children: 1970, 1980, 1984

	1984		1980		1970	
	Number (in thousands)	Percent	Number (in thousands)	Percent	Number (in thousands)	Percent
Total	1,988	100.0%	1,589	100.0%	523	100.0%
No children present	1,373	69.1	1,159	72.9	327	62.5
Children present ^a	614	30.9	431	27.1	196	37.5

^aFor the year 1970, children in unmarried-couple households are under 14. For the years 1980 and 1984, children are under 15.

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Current Population Reports*, Series P-20, No. 391, 1984.

TABLE II

Partners in Unmarried-Couple Households, By Sex, Age, and Marital History: 1981 (Numbers in Thousands)

	Men		Women	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Total	1,808	100.0%	1,808	100.0%
Age				
Under 25	435	24.1	687	38.0
25-34	780	43.1	686	37.9
35-44	252	13.9	151	8.4
45-64	232	12.8	181	10.0
65 years or more	111	6.1	99	5.5
Marital history				
Never married	958	53.0	991	54.8
Ever married	850	47.0	817	45.2

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Current Population Reports*, Series P-20, No. 372, 1982.

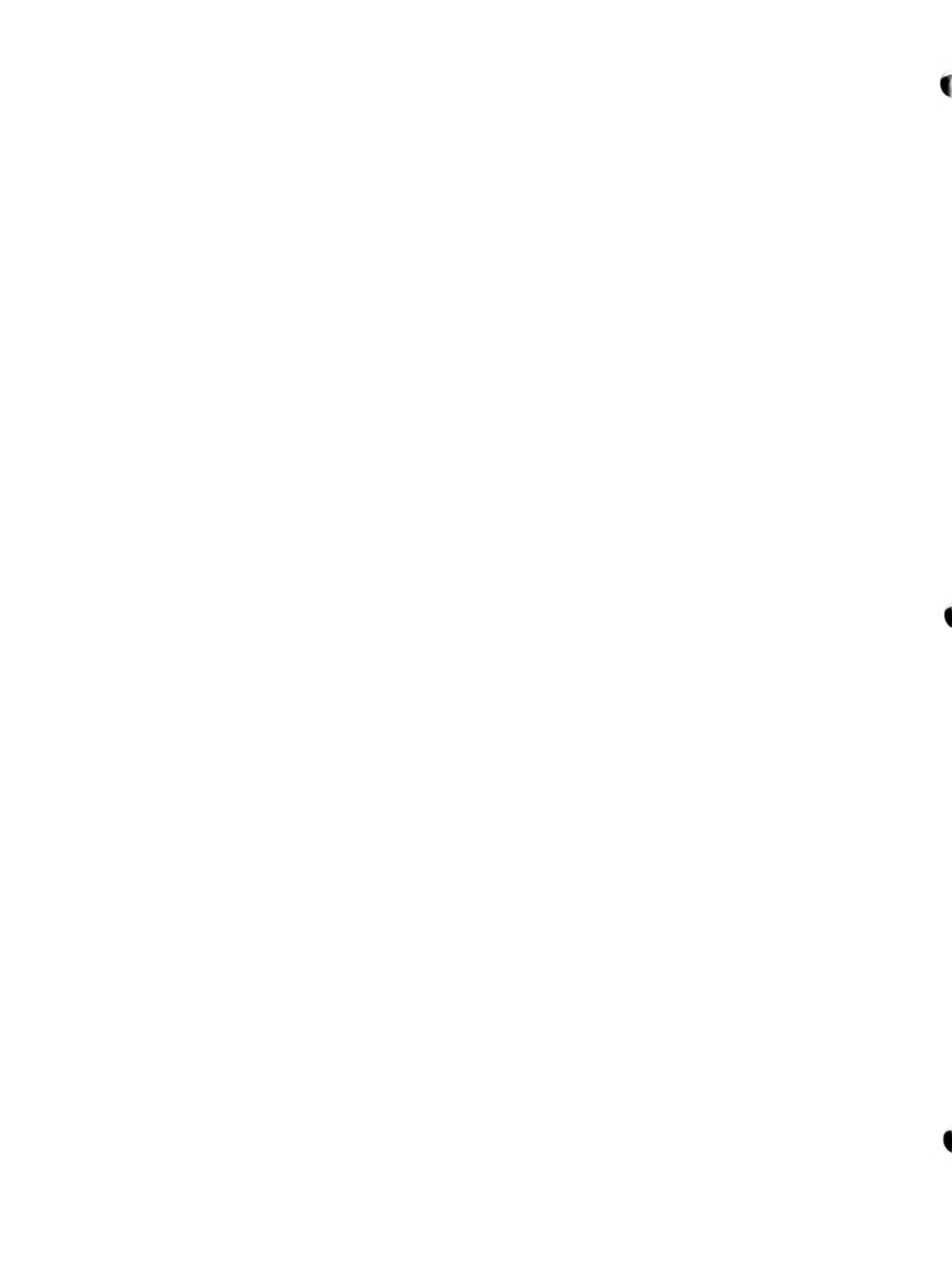


TABLE III

Number of Sexual Partners of Single Male and Female Adults

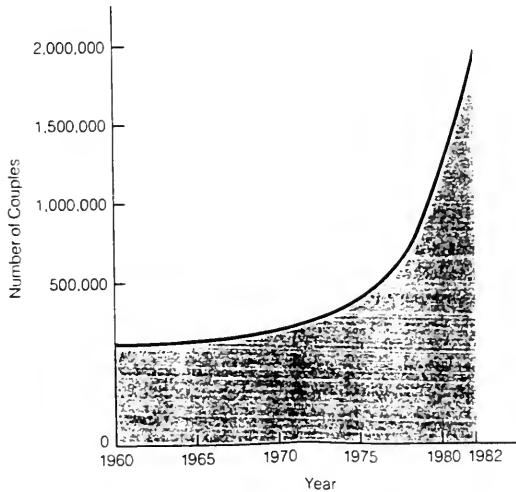
Men			
Number of Sexual Partners	Never Married	Divorced Once	Divorced Twice or More
NONE	5%	3%	2%
One	4%	10%	1%
2-4	14%	18%	9%
5-9	14%	14%	12%
10-19	19%	23%	26%
20-49	21%	17%	21%
50-100	12%	7%	8%
MORE	10%	7%	19%
Don't Know	1%	1%	2%

Women			
Number of Sexual Partners	Never Married	Divorced Once	Divorced Twice or More
NONE	10%	9%	3%
One	13%	16%	12%
2-4	23%	28%	21%
5-9	20%	15%	22%
10-19	15%	15%	9%
20-49	12%	10%	19%
50-100	4%	3%	4%
MORE	1%	1%	6%
Don't Know	2%	3%	4%

Source : Simenauer, Jacqueline, and Carroll, David. *Singles The New Americans*. p. 150. C © 1982
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TABLE IV

Increase in Unmarried Couples Living Together in the United States, 1960-1982



Based on data from Glick and Spanier (1980) and U. S. Bureau of the Census, 1982, 1984

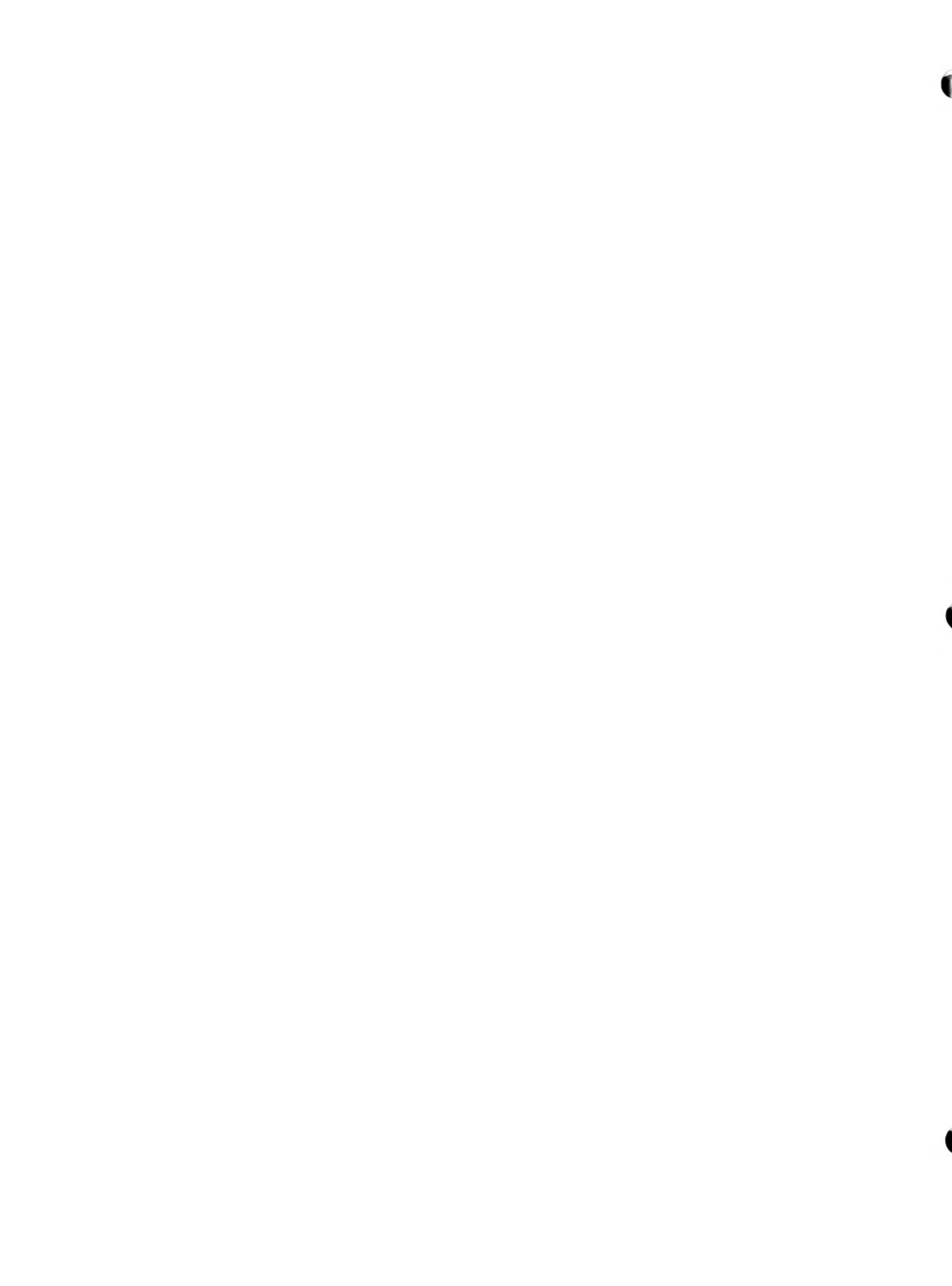
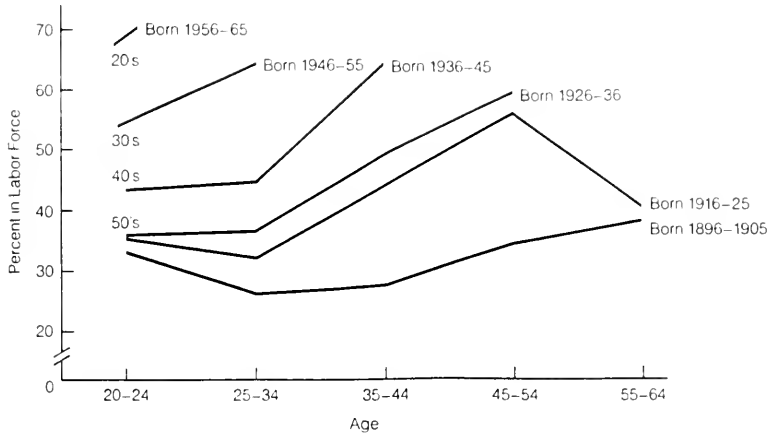


TABLE VII

1985
 Proportion of Women in the Labor Force by Age and Generation.



U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, *Handbook of Labor Statistics*, Bulletin 2217 (June 1985), and other Bureau of Labor Statistics publications (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office)

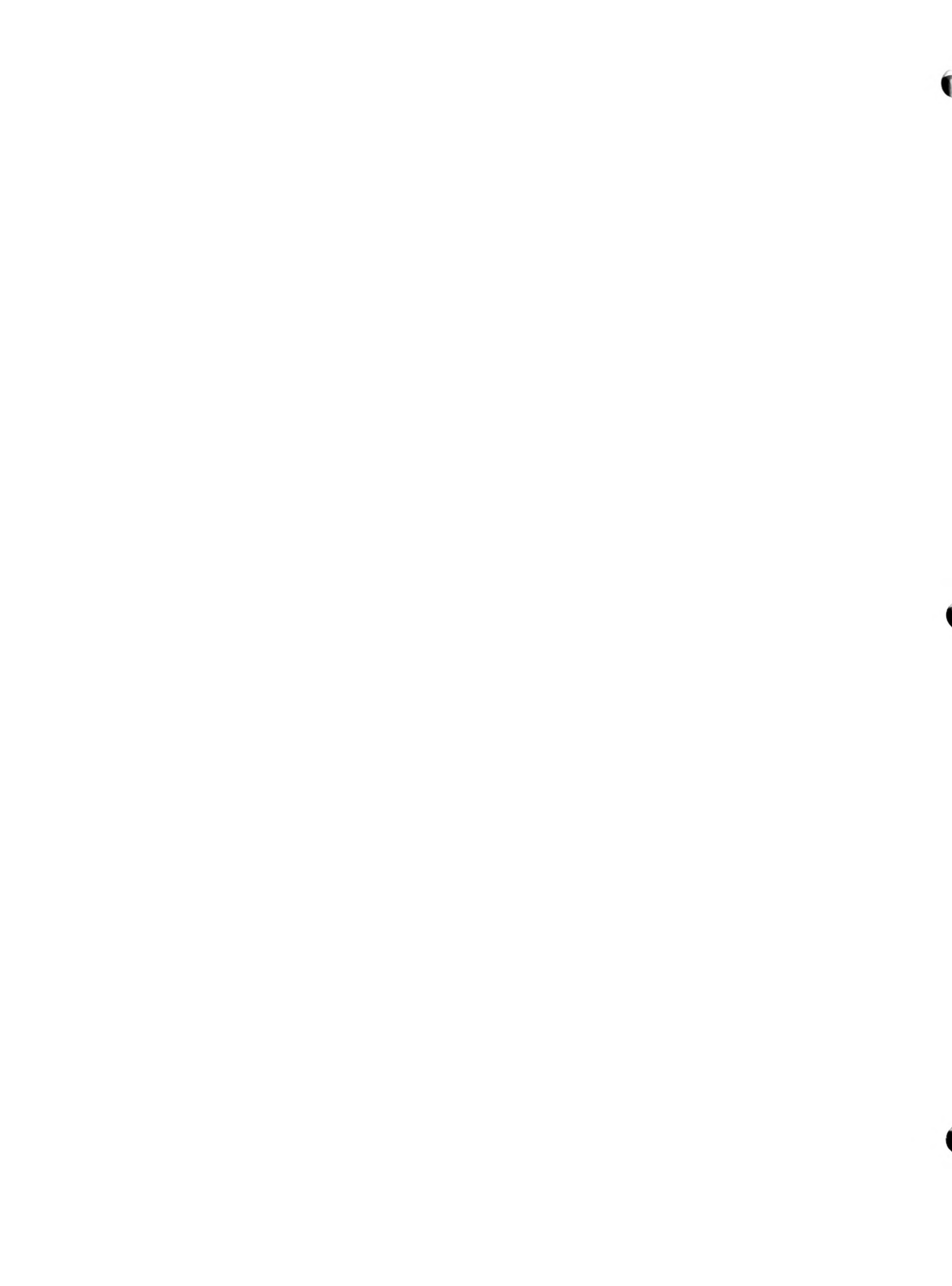


TABLE V

Number of Marriages by State, 1985, and Percentage Decreased or Increased from 1984

State	Marriages		State	Marriages	
	1985	Change		1985	Change
Alabama	45,816	-3.5%	Nebraska	12,185	-8.7%
Alaska	6,182	-5.2%	Nevada	106,922	-0.5%
Arizona	35,567	+12.9%	New Hampshire	11,159	-1.8%
Arkansas	30,496	-3.0%	New Jersey	60,915	-2.1%
California	226,150	-0.2%	New Mexico	14,585	-3.9%
Colorado	33,938	-2.0%	New York	164,864	-2.4%
Connecticut	27,206	+8.5%	North Carolina	50,575	-3.0%
Delaware	5,345	-2.2%	North Dakota	5,467	-5.8%
District of Columbia	5,040	-8.2%	Ohio	94,176	-4.6%
Florida	127,930	-3.1%	Oklahoma	35,536	-8.0%
Georgia	73,541	-3.0%	Oregon	22,414	-0.8%
Hawaii	15,319	-2.9%	Pennsylvania	88,687	-4.2%
Idaho	12,542	+0.2%	Rhode Island	7,963	+0.3%
Illinois	97,912	-4.5%	South Carolina	52,776	-5.6%
Indiana	52,688	-0.0%	South Dakota	7,836	-2.5%
Iowa	24,720	-8.3%	Tennessee	54,942	-0.5%
Kansas	23,571	-4.9%	Texas	213,766	+3.0%
Kentucky	46,949	+6.7%	Utah	17,077	-2.9%
Louisiana	39,666	-3.9%	Vermont	5,622	+4.6%
Maine	11,257	-9.4%	Virginia	66,670	+1.1%
Maryland	47,069	-0.5%	Washington	44,514	-0.5%
Massachusetts	51,648	-2.9%	West Virginia	14,649	-5.2%
Michigan	80,813	-9.6%	Wisconsin	40,072	-2.5%
Minnesota	34,458	-6.5%	Wyoming	5,355	-6.4%
Mississippi	24,733	-5.4%			
Missouri	49,014	-9.5%	Total	2,435,476	-1.8%
Montana	7,179	-6.5%			

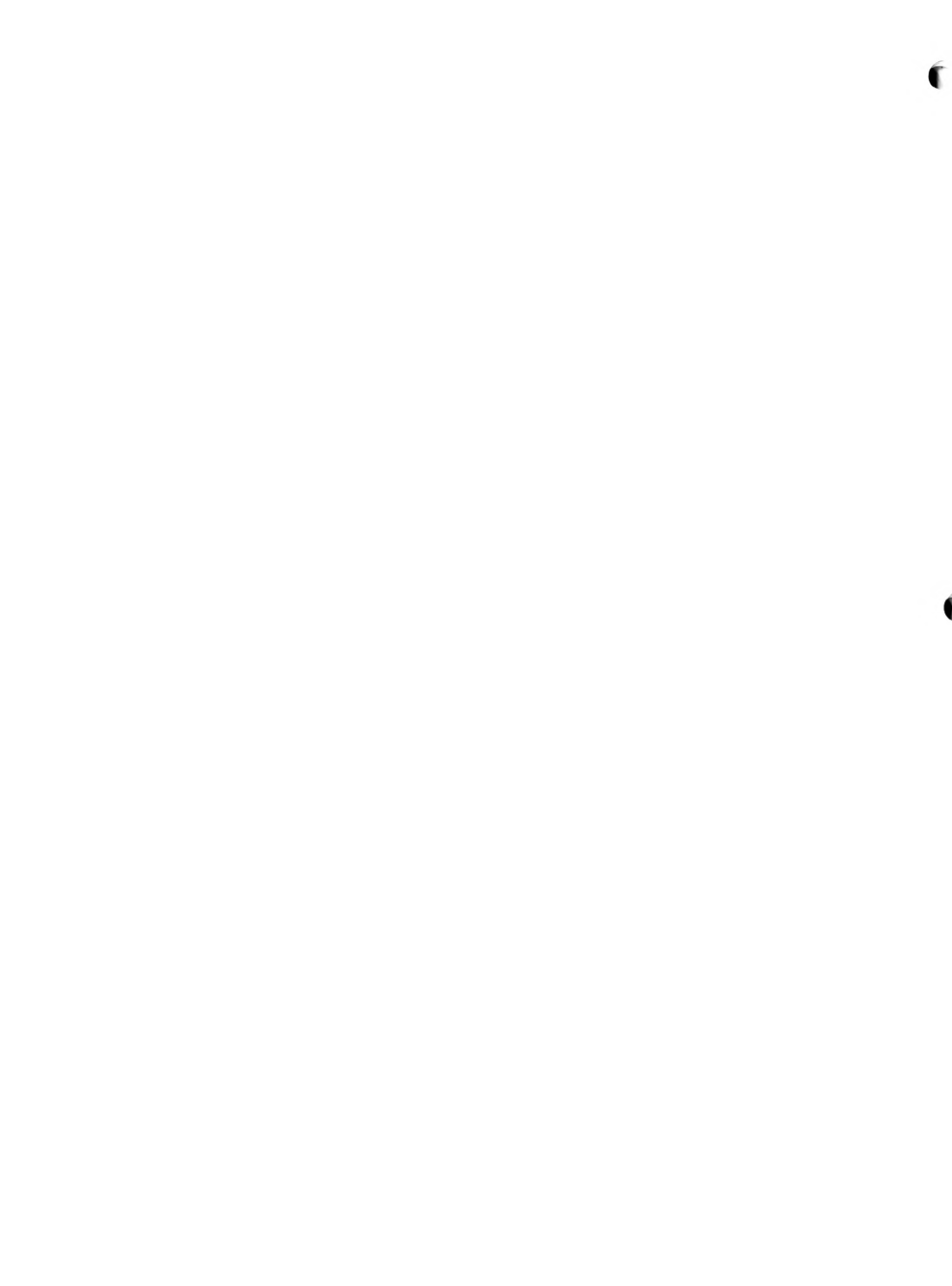
Source: National Center for Health Statistics, 1986

TABLE VI

Traditional vs. Open Marriages

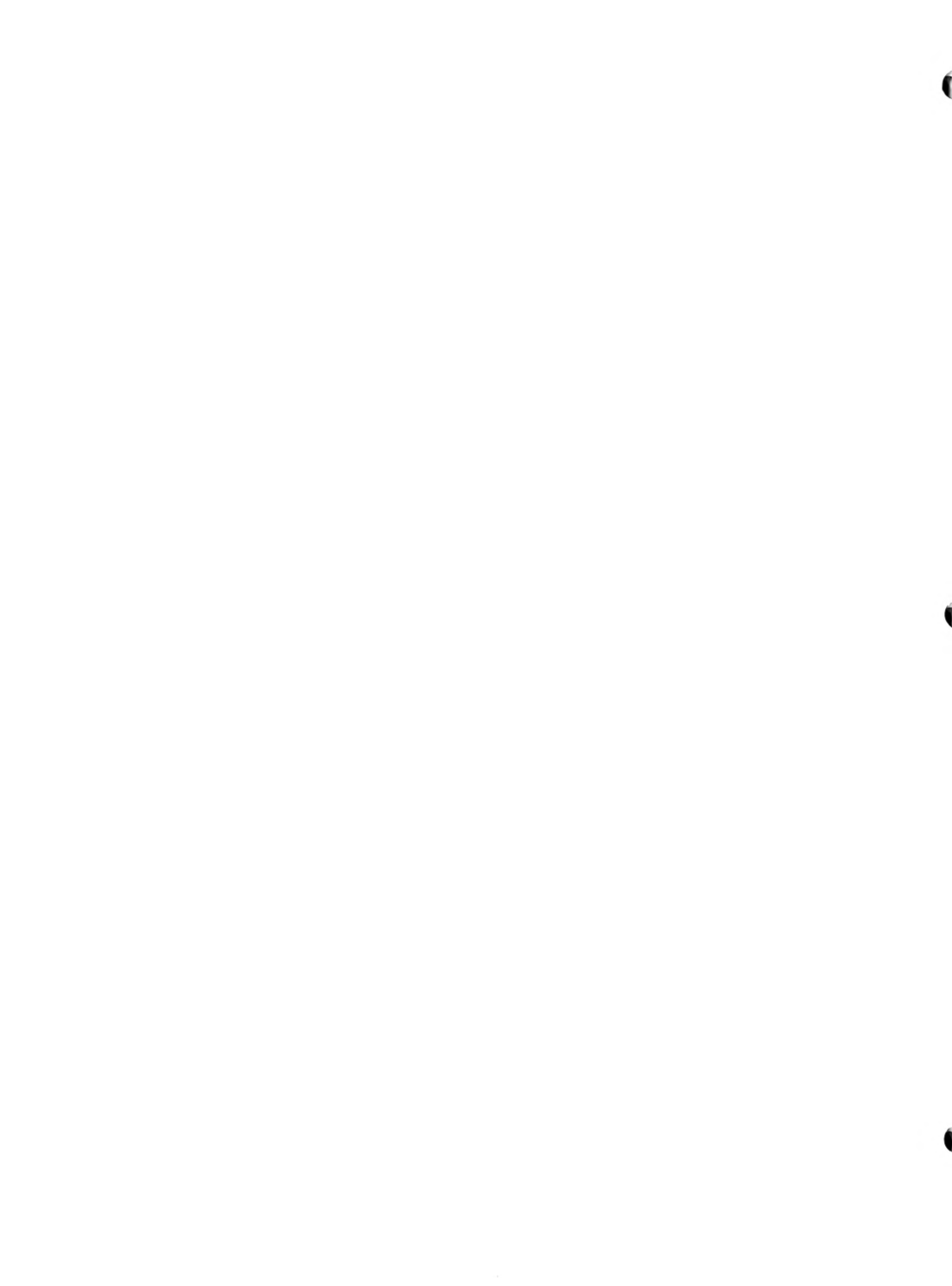
Issue	Traditional Marriage	Open Marriage
Living for now and realistic expectations	Believe marriage will last forever	Values change in the marital relationship, even if the change results in ending the marriage
Privacy	Don't believe in separate vacations	Feel that it is important to spend some vacation time apart
Open and honest communication	Don't share fantasies or dreams that might hurt the other	Share all dreams, believe in self-disclosure
Role flexibility	Have ascribed roles	Exchange roles for sake of convenience
Open companionship	A caring relationship with someone of the opposite sex is a risk to the marriage	Caring relationship with someone of the opposite sex is acceptable
Equality	One partner has more freedom and responsibility	Freedom and responsibility are equally granted
Identity	Personal lifestyles are compromised to meet longterm needs of the marriage	Each spouse is free to pursue his or her own unique lifestyle
Trust	When one is away, the other is concerned about what the partner might do	Neither has any qualms about what the other might do

Source: Adapted from D. Wachowiak and H. Brag "Open Marriage and Marital Adjustment." *Journal of Marriage and the Family* February 1980, p. 59. Copyrighted 1980 by the National Council on Family Relations, 1910 West County Road B, Suite 147, St. Paul, Minnesota 55113. Reprinted by permission.

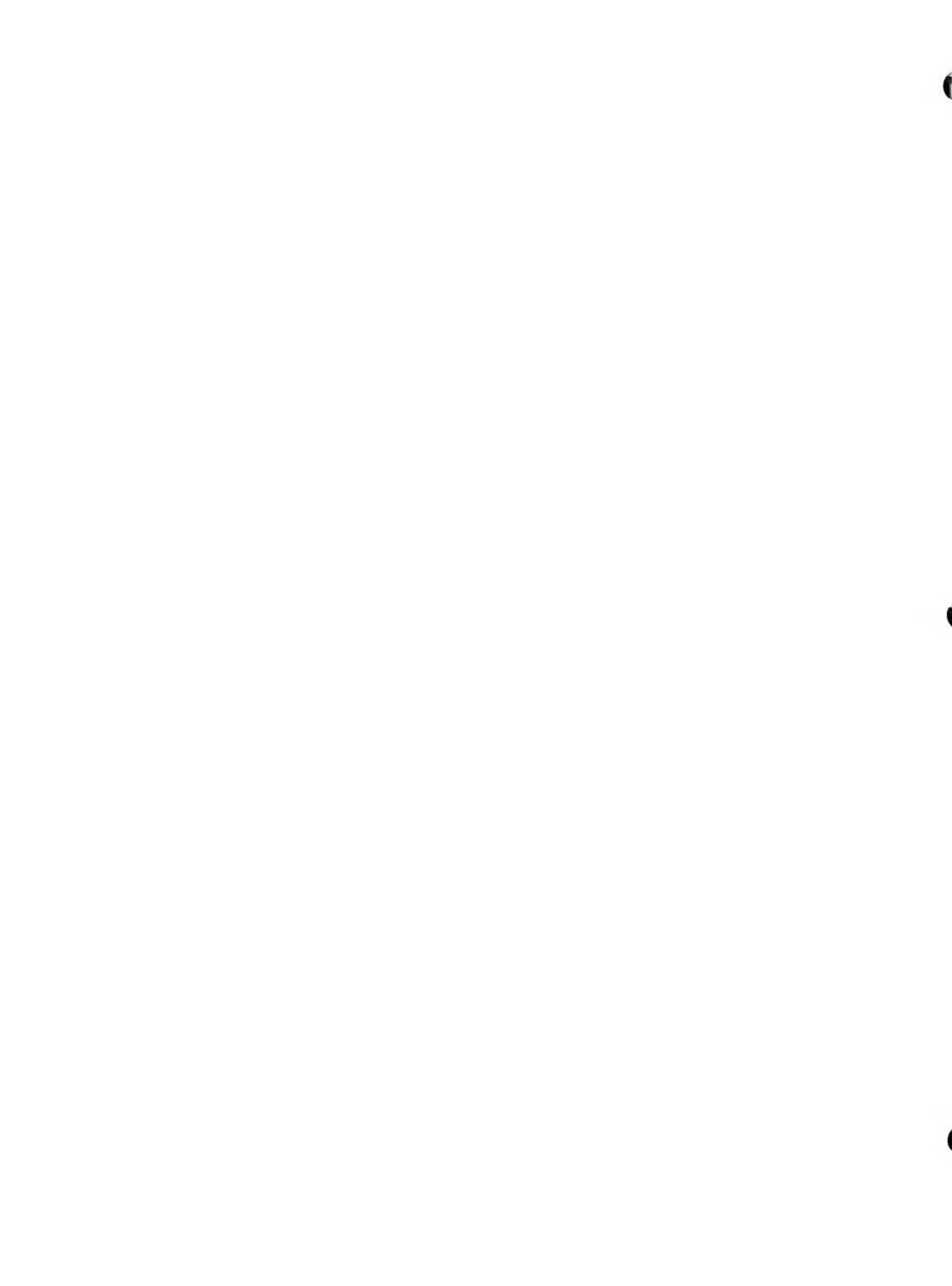


Please fill in the blanks or circle the most nearly correct answer.

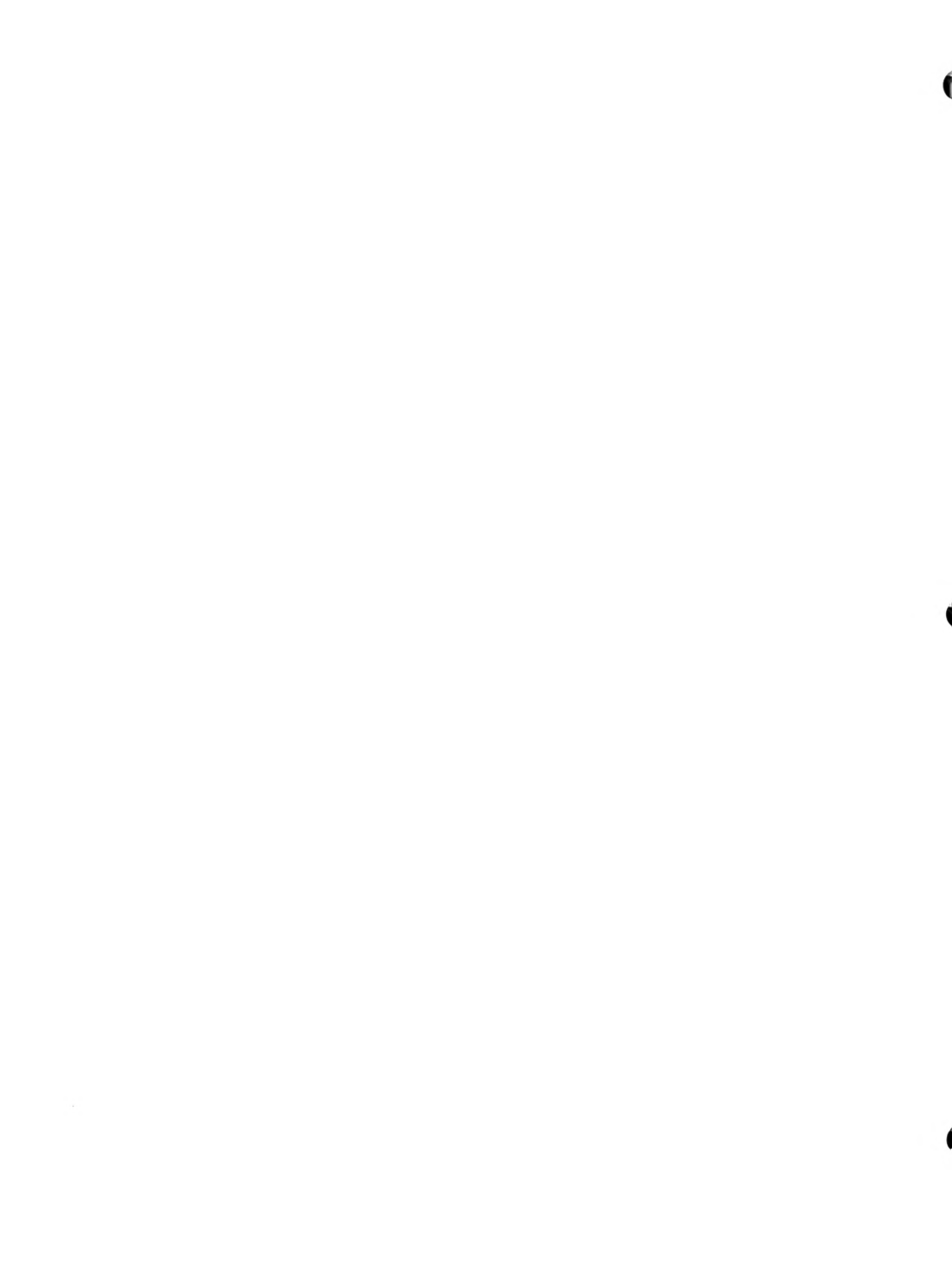
1. In what year were you born? 19____.
2. Academic class: F S J Sn T.P.
3. Are you and your partner married? Y N If no, go to # 5.
4. If yes, how long have you been married?____years/____months.
*** If you are married stop here. Thank you for participating.**
5. Do you have a significant partner in your life? Y N If no, go to #18.
6. What do you refer to your significant partner as?
 - a. boyfriend
 - b. fiancé
 - c. other: _____
7. How long have you known your partner?____years/____months/____weeks.
8. Where did you and your partner meet?_____
9. How long ago did you and your partner first begin "going out together"?
_____years/_____months/_____weeks.
10. Are you and your partner engaged? Y N If no, go to # 12.
11. If yes, how long have you been engaged?__years/__months/__weeks. Go to #14.
12. If no, do you and your partner plan to get engaged? Y N If no, go to #15.
13. If yes, when?
 1. within a year
 2. in 2 years
 3. in 3 years
 4. in 4-5 years
 5. in 5-10 years
 6. in 10+ years



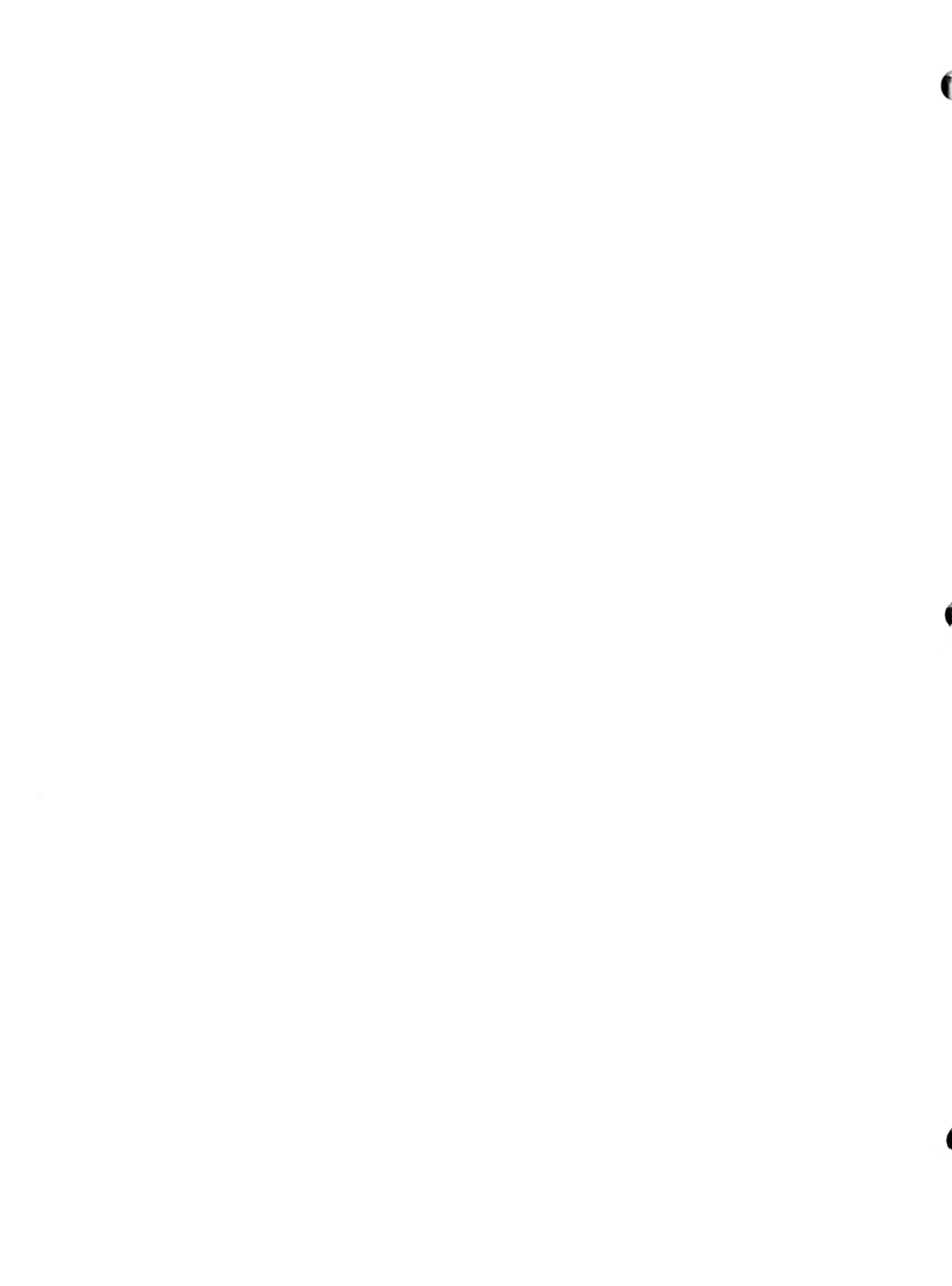
14. When do you and your current partner plan to get married?
1. within a year
 2. in 2 years
 3. in 3 years
 4. in 4-5 years
 5. in 5-10 years
 6. in 10+ years
15. Do you and your current partner ever live together? Y N
16. If yes, how many days per week? 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
17. At whose residence do you spend most of your time? _____
18. If you don't have a current partner or don't plan to marry your current partner, do you plan to ever get married? Y N If no, go to #20.
19. If yes, when?
1. within a year
 2. in 2 years
 3. in 3 years
 4. in 4-5 years
 5. in 5-10 years
 6. in 10+ years
20. Are you sexually active? Y N If no, go to #23.
21. If yes, do you practice birth control? Y N If no, go to # 23.
22. If yes, what method?
1. pill
 2. rhythm
 3. condom
 4. diaphragm
 5. sponge
 6. withdrawal
 7. spermicide
 8. other: _____



23. Do you plan to have biological children? Y N If no, go to # 25.
24. If yes, how many? _____
25. Do you plan to adopt children? Y N If no, go to # 27.
26. If yes, how many? _____
27. What is your mother's occupation? _____
28. What is your father's occupation? _____
29. Are your parents? __separated/ __divorced/ __widowed If no, go to #33.
30. Please indicate the year your parents parted. _____
31. Did either parent remarry? _____mother/ _____father/ _____both
32. If yes, when did they remarry? _____mother/ _____father
33. Which of these choices best describe your future plans?
1. remain single
 2. live together with a partner
 3. date one person seriously
 4. date many people, no one seriously
 5. other: _____
34. Has the fear of divorce influenced your answers? Y N
- Please comment:



35. Please share your deepest fears concerning your future plans.



Books

Bailey, Kenneth D., Methods of Social Research, New York: The Free Press, 1987.

** This textbook shows the many aspects of social research and serves as a guide for developing a research project. It discusses fundamental principles of social research, survey research methods, nonsurvey data collection methods and the methods used in the interpretation of the data.*

Blumstein, Philip and Pepper Schwartz., American Couples: Money—Work—Sex, New York: Pocket Books, 1983.

**This book explores couples sexual satisfaction and intimacy, new economic roles in household management, work and private time, infidelity and why couples break up. The authors of this book collected survey research data by questionnaires and interviews in a ten year study providing an intimate look at several couples lives, in both heterosexual and homosexual relationships.*

Briffault, Robert and Bronislaw Malinowski., Marriage: Past and Present, Boston: Porter Sargent, 1956.

**A transcript of radio debate between two anthropologists first broadcast by the British Broadcasting Corporation in 1931.*

Dobson, James C., Love for a Lifetime, Portland, Oregon: Multnomah Press, 1987.

**This book looks at the structure and functions of marriage and how these are changing in modern society.*

Durkheim, Emile., The Division of Labor in Society, New York: Free Press of Glencoe, 1893.

**A famous study of the institution of work in society.*

Cherlin, A., Marriage, Divorce, and Remarriage, Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1981.

**This book attempts to summarize the changes in marriage, divorce, and remarriage since WWII.*

Frazer, Sir James George, The Golden Bough, New York: MacMillan Co., 1922.

**Discusses the institution of taboo in great detail, concentrating on acts, persons, things and words which are tabooed in many societies.*

Friedl, E., Women and Men: An Anthropologist's View, Prospect Heights, Illinois: Waveland Press, Inc., 1984.

**In this book the author uses a structural—functional theoretical approach to analyze sex roles in all institutions of society, including marriage and the family.*

Fox, Robin, Kinship and Marriage, New York: Cambridge University Press, 1967.

**Fox discusses marriage, kinship, family, descent patterns and the incest taboo from an anthropological perspective.*

Goode, William J., Readings on the Family and Society, New Jersey: Prentice—Hall, Inc., 1964.

**The article by Robert K. Merton shows how larger social structure limits mate selection on a more intimate level.*

Gray, Robert F. The Family Estate in Africa, Boston: Boston University Press, 1964.

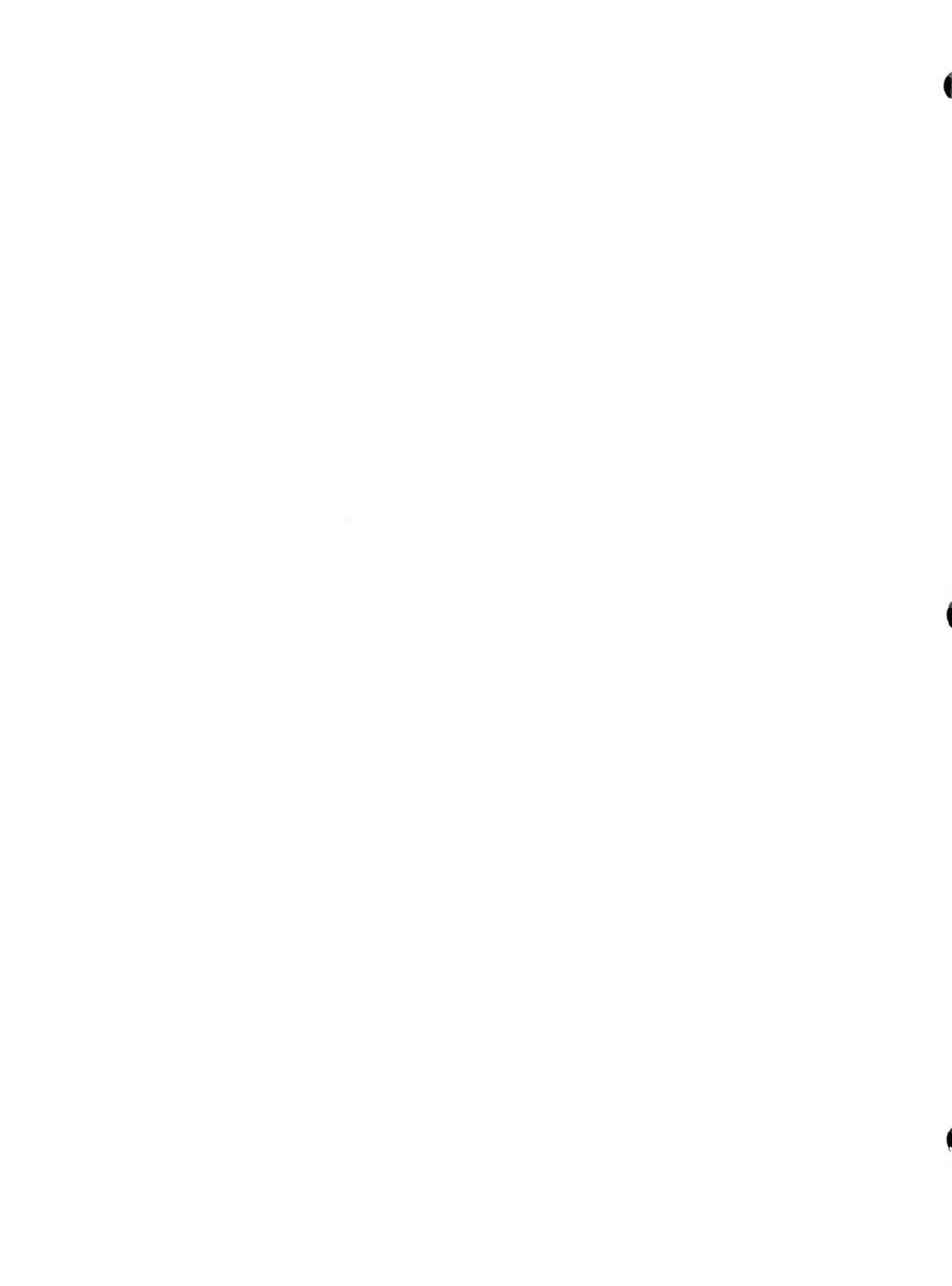
**A book which emphasizes the developmental or time dimensions of the family, analyzing it as a process in several societies.*

Harris, Marvin., Cultural Anthropology, 2nd Edition, New York: Harper and Row Publishers, Inc., 1987.

**An introduction to anthropology which includes the theory of the writer.*

Hammond, Peter B., An Introduction to Cultural and Social Anthropology, 2nd Edition, New York: MacMillan Publishing Co., Inc., 1978.

**A textbook designed to define basic concepts and theories in anthropology.*



Lienhardt, Social Anthropology, 2nd Edition, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1966.

**This section of the book looks at Western society's views of marriage and the family.*

Linton, Ralph., The Study of Man, New York, 1936.

**A classic study which includes an analysis of the family.*

Malinowski, B., The Family Among the Australian Aborigines, New York: Schocken Books, 1969.

**This is a famous study in which the author proves that the Australians do not have group marriage.*

Murdock, Social Structure, New York: The MacMillan Co., 1949.

**An early approach to structural theory utilizing a functional definition of marriage and family.*

Skolnick, Arlene S. and Jerome H., Family in Transition, Illinois: Scott Foresman and Co., 1989.

**This book, composed of recently published articles, explores how marriage and family life have changed over the years.*

Spanier, Graham B., "Cohabitation in the 1980s: Recent Changes in the United States", Contemporary Marriage: Comparative Perspectives on a Changing Institution, New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1986.

**Compares current characteristics of cohabitation and patterns of growth to the past trends of cohabitation in the United States.*

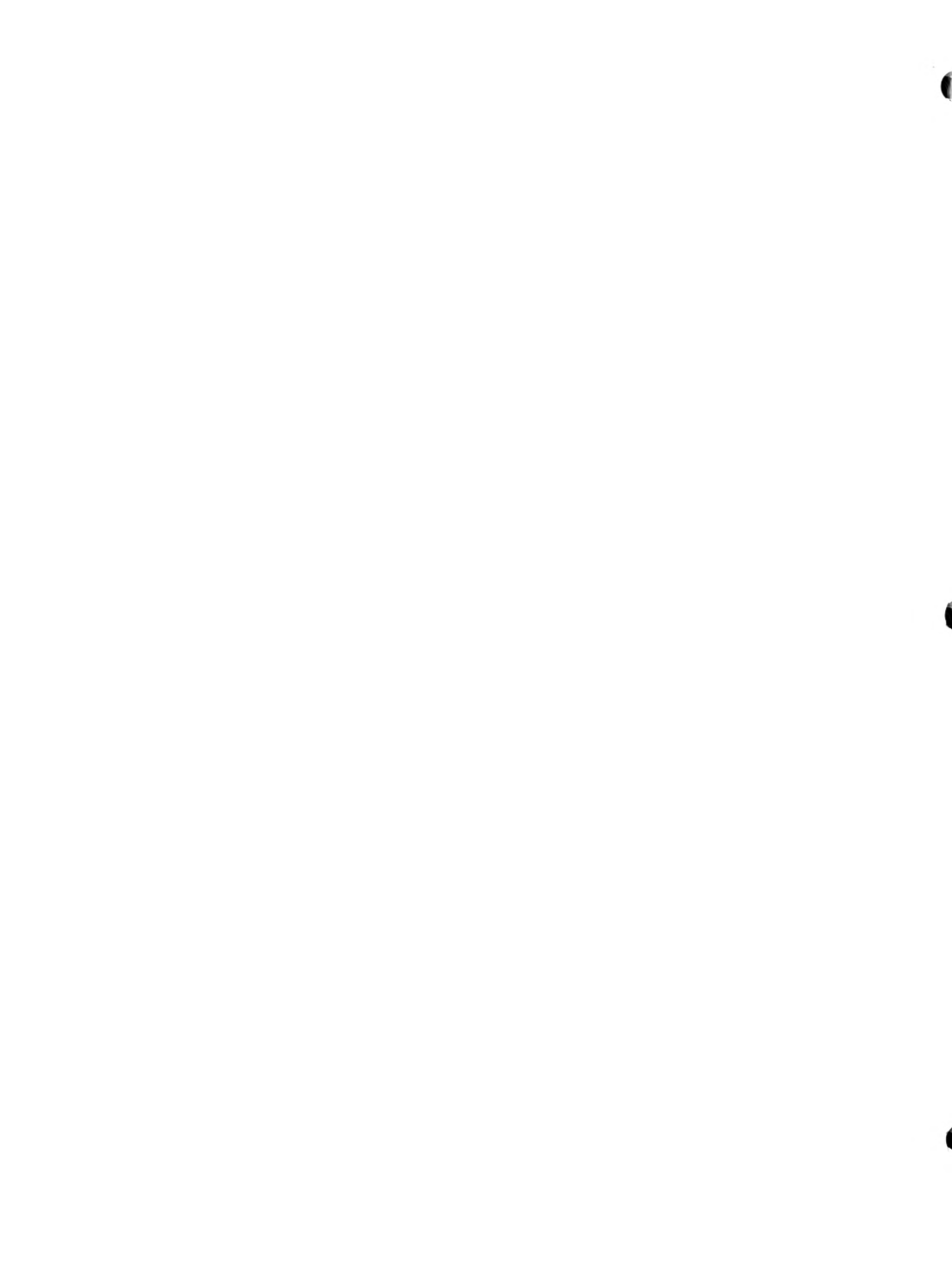
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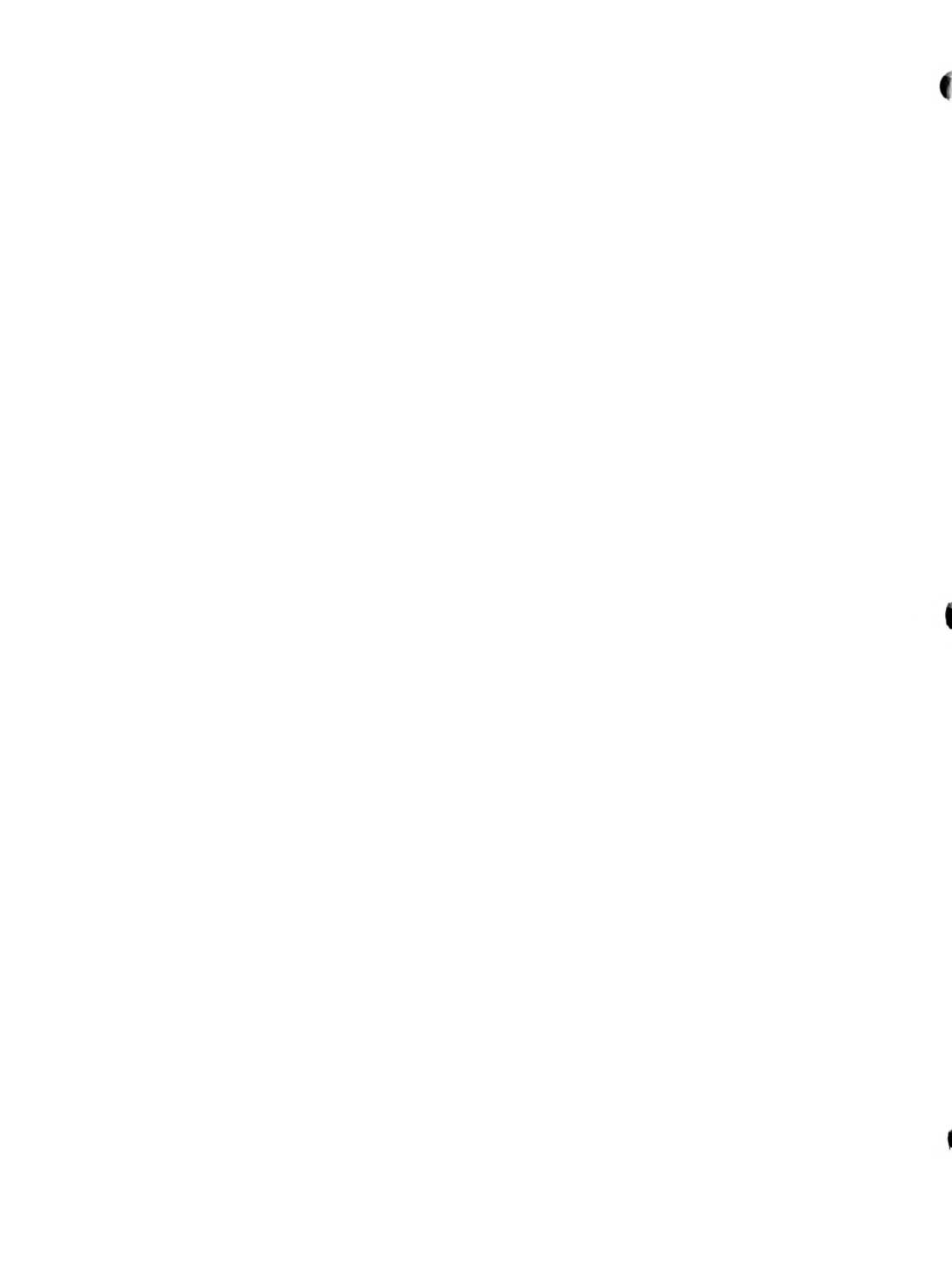
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